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The Shape of Things

ONCE MORE MONTGOMERY'S VETERAN ARMY has outfought and outsmarted Rommel's *Afrika Korps*, and the desert fox is now running to earth with the Allies in hot pursuit. It remains to be seen whether the German commander can extricate any sizable portion of his forces through the southern Tunisian bottleneck to combine with the army of General von Arnim in a last-stand defense of the Bizerte-Tunis triangle. His retreat is menaced at half a dozen points by the Allied armies pressing eastward and is exposed to concentrated attack from the air. Winston Churchill, however, has warned that bitter fighting is still to be expected. The Bizerte-Tunis area has been elaborately fortified in the past five months and might prove capable of standing a prolonged siege. However, as the armies of Generals Montgomery, Patton, and Anderson link up and close in on the enemy, there is good reason to hope that the Axis will soon lose its last toe-hold in Africa. Nor are Rommel's chances of a successful Dunkirk very bright. Allied air and naval supremacy is likely to preclude the escape of more than a small percentage of his forces across the hundred-mile channel which separates them from Sicily. For nearly five months the United Nations have been waiting impatiently for this day. It has been delayed by acute logistic troubles, by appalling weather, and by the difficulty of welding the armies of three diverse nations into one effective fighting machine. However, the unified command instituted at Casablanca has mastered its problems and proved its worth in action by carrying out a complicated strategical combination with clockwork accuracy.

*

IN RUSSIA A TEMPORARY STALEMATE HAS been reached, with both sides stalled by mud and spring floods. The German counter-offensive in the south has been checked at the Donets line; the Russian drive in the center has so far been unable to penetrate the outer defenses of Smolensk. Not surprisingly, the second-front question is coming again to the fore, with Moscow hinting plainly that it would prefer military support now to lectures on post-war policies. The German rally which led to the renewed loss of Kharkov appears to have been made possible by the transfer of reserves from the west,

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and the Russians may well feel that they were robbed of the fruits of their winter offensive by the failure of their allies to give them support when they most needed it. However, if a western front can be opened up within the next two months, it can still prevent the concentration of German forces for a summer offensive and give the Red Army the chance to break through that it is hoping for. Of course, in any debate on the second front Anglo-American authorities are at a disadvantage, since the only effective reply they can make until the zero hour is past is to name a date. And obviously only Hitler would be pleased at that. Russian critics have suggested that the Anglo-American commanders value preparation above time and are over-insistent on having the last button sewed on the last uniform before they will move. But it may be that Moscow fails to appreciate the magnitude of the shipping problem just as it has been less than generous in recognizing the contribution of the bombing offensive against Germany. That is an essential preliminary to any Continental invasion as well as an effective method of reducing the supplies Germany can ship to the eastern front.

*

HOPES FOR FRENCH UNITY HAVE RISEN WITH the arrival of General Catroux in Algiers for discussions with General Giraud preparatory to a visit by General de Gaulle. Giraud is said to have come to recognize that De Gaulle commands the support of most Frenchmen inside France, who see in him the symbol of uncompromising resistance to the Nazis. This gives the Fighting French leader a moral authority to which Giraud can only oppose the steady support he has received from the United States government. Both generals are fervently anti-Nazi, but while De Gaulle's experiences in the war have moderated his original conservatism and brought him round to the democratic point of view, Giraud retains his authoritarian distrust of the Republic. Moreover, whatever his military qualities, he seems something of a political innocent who fails to understand the implications of advice given him by political advisers. Consequently, so long as he is surrounded by such men as Peyrouton, Noguès, and Boisson, the fusion of his forces with those of the Fighting French is likely to remain incomplete. There is some reason to hope, however, that Noguès and Boisson are slated for early removal, and certainly nothing could do more to aid the unity negotiations except the dismissal of Peyrouton. But this, probably, is more than we can hope for. It would mean too open an acknowledgment of the State Department's errors.

*

VICE-PRESIDENT WALLACE'S TOUR THROUGH Latin America has proved a great success so far. Its political significance exceeds that of the conventional diplomatic visit, and particularly in Chile the reception accorded him amounted to a genuine plebiscite in support of a policy of cooperation between the two countries. One has the feeling that, for the first time, the men and women of Latin America, not merely the governments and chancelleries, are striving toward a genuine good-neighbor policy. The fact is extremely important in itself, and the service rendered by Vice-President Wallace is inestimable. But our officials in Washington, our press, and our radio commentators must not overlook the fact that the 100,000 Chileans who welcomed the Vice-President in the Stadium of Santiago cheered in him the defender of the "Century of the Common Man," the advocate of a real people's peace. He was enthusiastically greeted in Chile for the very attitude which causes our reactionaries to attack him at home. A visit by Hoover, for instance, would have met with a quite opposite reception at this time. Incidentally, Mr. Wallace's visit underlines the splendid accomplishments of various Chilean groups. The Chilean edition of the magazine *Free World* (*Mundo Libre*) was launched with a first number devoted principally to the Vice-President. The Association of Spanish Republicans, very strong in Chile, also contributed to the magnificent demonstration in the Stadium.

*

IT IS RATHER IRONIC THAT CONGRESS, THE flower of the democratic system, is the one court in the land in which a citizen may be prosecuted, injured in his professional career, and even driven from public life without so much as a hearing. This technique was worked so brazenly and with such success by the Dies committee that it has now been adopted by a number of Congressmen for regular use on the floor of the House. Representative Lambertson, the honorable gentleman from Kansas, suggested a few weeks ago that the President's sons had been sneaked out of the fighting zones as soon as their pictures had been snapped. Representative Costello, the honorable gentleman from California, has on no evidence whatever branded the Office of War Information a haven for slackers. And Representative Flannagan of Virginia, likewise an honorable gentleman by virtue of his election, nas pinned the label of draft-dodger on an extremely able government official named David Ginsburg. As general counsel of the Office of Price Administration, Mr. Ginsburg won the public thanks of the Senate for his services, and Leon Henderson, his superior, naturally requested draft deferment for him on the ground that he was essential. When Senator Brown succeeded Henderson, Ginsburg, having completed a phase of his work, asked his new superior for a release so that he might enter the army. Brown granted the release, and a high officer in the War Department who wanted to utilize Ginsburg's services urged him to apply for a commission. He did, and the Flannagan slander, seasoned with a dose of anti-Semi-

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tism, followed. Other public servants have suffered similarly. As a result resignations are piling up among those who are unwilling to subject themselves to the vindictiveness of men who may slander without fear of punishment.

*

THE REPEAL OF THE $25,000 SALARY LIMIT by an overwhelming Congressional vote was a serious personal defeat for President Roosevelt and a setback in the vital anti-inflation campaign. But it can hardly be denied that Congress was within its rights in rescinding an order that clearly violated the intent of the legislative body. *The Nation* has questioned on several occasions the wisdom of limiting earned income without at the same time placing a ceiling on unearned income of all kinds. But the case for placing a top limit on incomes during war time is unassailable on economic and psychological grounds. Without such a ceiling the government has inadequate justification for asking John L. Lewis's miners or the farm bloc to back down on their demands in order to prevent inflation. For money that is squandered by the wealthy on luxuries will have a no less inflationary effect than money spent by miners or farmers on food, clothing, or shelter. It is clear, however, that the ceiling on incomes should be imposed not by the President but by Congress. If Congress refuses to act, the President would be well within his rights to carry the fight to the American people. Once the people are made aware of the issue, Congress can be forced into action.

*

A COMPLETE ANSWER TO RICKENBACKER'S efforts to link absenteeism to union activities has been provided in a series of recent industrial studies of the problem fully reported by the *Wall Street Journal* though neglected by the press in general. No less than 95 per cent of all absences in West Coast airplane factories was found to be due to illness and transportation difficulties, according to a survey just completed by the Aircraft War Production Council. Illness of the workers themselves accounted for 75 per cent of the absenteeism among men and 70 per cent of that among women. Illness or death in the family was responsible for an additional 8½ per cent of male and 12½ per cent of female absenteeism. Transportation breakdowns and failures of car-sharing plans accounted for another 12½ per cent. Another study, conducted by the Consolidated Edison Company of New York, revealed that the common cold and other respiratory diseases were the cause of one-half of its worker absences. Some twenty different causes of absenteeism were listed in a survey made by an industrial group in Los Angeles, among which one of the least important was drunkenness. Accidents were a major factor. Household responsibilities and the necessity for having time to shop rank as fairly important causes of absence among women workers. This difficulty has been met in some places by short shifts, plant nurseries, and plant shopping services, but most industries have been slow in adopting even such obvious remedial measures.

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THE DANISH ELECTORS WHO WENT TO THE polls last week had no illusions about their ability to change the present state of affairs. They knew that, however they voted, the German occupation would continue and the coalition Danish government under the opportunistic Premier Scavenius would pursue its policy of cold cooperation with the Nazis. Nevertheless, far more of them cast their ballots than at the last election, and although the Nazis claim the results as indorsement of the government and its policy, there is good reason to interpret them as a demonstration of belief in democracy. All the big parties gained, with the greatest percentage increase scored by the Conservatives, whose exiled leader, Christmas Müller, now heads the Free Danish movement in London. The Social Democrats also improved their position impressively. Scavenius's own party—the Radicals—showed a comparatively slight increase in votes and lost one of their thirteen seats in the Folketing, while the small Farmers' Party, which had been suspected of Nazi sympathies, was almost wiped out, losing both its seats. Out of over 2,000,000 votes polled, only 43,277 were cast for the acknowledged Danish Nazi Party. This represented an apparent gain of some 12,000, but it was made possible by orders switching the votes of the German minority in Schleswig, which had voted 15,000 strong for their own Nazi candidate in 1939. Altogether the election affords further evidence of the refusal of the Danes to kotow to their conquerors. Their resistance may be passive—apart from considerable sabotage activities—but it is unshakable.

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DENMARK IN FACT HAS EARNED THE RIGHT to resent a recent comparison with Hungary for which John F. Montgomery, former American Minister in Budapest, was responsible. Mr. Montgomery, who has given support to the American activities of the notorious Tibor Eckhardt, declared in a letter to a Hungarian Committee in Youngstown, Ohio: "Although Hungary is technically our adversary, she is a slave of the Axis just as Denmark is, a fact which few people understand. The truth is I find very little understanding and appreciation of Hungary's position." We think Mr. Montgomery is poorly informed about both Denmark and Hungary. He apparently is unaware that the government to which he was once accredited was fascist before Hitler. However much Regent Horthy and his feudal friends may personally dislike the dictation of Nazi upstarts, they accept it as a lesser evil than the loss of their own power,

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whether it means sending Hungarian armies to die in Russia, starving their own people to feed Germany, or introducing the Nürnberg laws. It should be our task to bring justice to the Hungarian peasants and workers after the war, but if we are to do that there can be no forgiveness for those who sold their souls and are now hoping to escape fulfilment of the bargain.

Much Ado About Food

IF WE are to judge by the newspaper space and the radio time allotted to it, the food problem dominated all others in the thinking of the American people this past week. Some radio commentators went so far as to use the word "famine" in their discussion of the aggravated food scarcity. Doubtless the newspapers of Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo have delighted in reproducing for their readers—for whom empty store shelves are a normal thing—the more extreme stories about the "hunger riots" in Washington and New York. As a result of this deluge of publicity, the average American is probably pretty well convinced that if a food crisis is not already upon us it is not far distant. The fact that the beginning of meat and butter rationing virtually coincided with the appointment of Chester C. Davis as Food Administrator and Congressional consideration of the Pace bill to raise food prices and the Bankhead bill to defer all farm workers has made it appear as if this crisis were moving rapidly toward some kind of terrifying climax which threatens the entire war effort.

How much of this publicity build-up is political and how much merely reflects a natural journalistic tendency to exploit a subject of great interest to everyone, we do not know. But we have noticed that the press has given comparatively little space to a sober analysis of the basic facts, which if adequately presented would have done much to allay any hysteria that may have developed. For the facts would have shown that despite a few bad spots the basic food situation of the country at the present time is excellent.

The absence of the usual quantity of meat in the butchers' show cases, for example, appears not to be due so much to lend-lease requirements as to the simple fact that farmers are not slaughtering their hogs and cattle in the usual amount but are keeping them on the farms for breeding purposes. On January 1 there were 73,660,000 hogs on the country's farms, an increase of 13,283,000 in a year—the largest increase in history. It is predicted that Iowa's 1943 pig crop will be 37 per cent above last year's record yield. Similarly, there were 5 per cent more cattle on our farms on January 1 than on the same date a year ago. Egg production in January and February was nearly 16 per cent above that of the corresponding months a year ago, while the rearing of both chickens and turkeys for food purposes is expected to reach a new record. Moreover, official March estimates show that farmers are expecting a very sharp increase in the acreage devoted to the chief meat substitutes—soy beans, peas, and peanuts. Now that rationing has been established, no difficulty should be encountered in distributing these basic protein foods equitably among the population.

Although food prospects are encouraging, real problems are constantly arising in adjusting agriculture to our war economy. It is these problems, rather than any immediate crisis, that the new Food Administrator will have to tackle. Chief among these is the matter of farm prices. Although the prices of the things the farmer sells have risen far more than those of the things he buys, the farm bloc in Congress is committed to a still higher level. The Pace bill for including farm-labor costs in computing "parity" has been temporarily sidetracked in the Senate, but will undoubtedly reappear. Holding the present price level is primarily a political problem, and the ultimate responsibility for this task falls upon Congress rather than the Administration. But though the present food price level is as high as it should be, the prices of many farm crops are seriously out of line with war-time requirements. Most grain prices, for example, are far too high, while the prices of protein-producing crops such as peas, soy beans, and peanuts are too low to bring maximum production. One of Mr. Davis's first responsibilities will be to grapple with this problem.

Hardly less acute is the farm man-power situation. While the shortage of farm labor is not as severe as the farm bloc would like us to believe, it is serious enough to hamper production if it is not remedied. A "land army" of high-school youths, women, and city workers would go a long way toward meeting the situation, but immediate steps need to be taken to organize such an army if it is to be ready to save this year's crops. Action is reported to be already under way to assure an adequate amount of farm machinery and fertilizer to meet the increased goals of war production.

While there is nothing in the food situation that should cause alarm, neither is there reason for complacency. Our food needs are bound to increase rather than diminish as the war progresses. The army is still expanding. Lend-lease requirements will continue to rise. Stockpiles will have to be built up for use in the post-war period. If these demands are to be met, careful planning is required. American agriculture will have to be reorganized to produce the maximum nutritional values with a minimum of man-power. Our diets will also have to be reorganized in line with the necessary changes in farm production. By tackling this latter task soberly and intelligently, without trace of hysteria, the average citizen may make a substantial contribution to the winning of the war.

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The Press on Churchill

SO FAR as the American public is concerned, Mr. Churchill's speech of March 21 has had several good results. The sultry weather that overhung our thinking about post-war world organization has begun to break up, and most observers already report a fresh breeze of progressive realism. But it must be said that on the whole reaction to the speech was expressed in purely general terms. The idea of regional councils, for instance, proved to be too concrete and too new for immediate acceptance.

One thing is quite remarkable, and that is that the speech cut across all party lines upon this issue of regional councils. So sound an advocate of collective security as the Cincinnati *Inquirer* was extremely suspicious of the whole idea on the ground that it smacked too strongly of the old balance-of-power policy. The same point of view was taken by the Raleigh *News and Observer* and to some extent by the Washington *Post*. In isolationist Boston the *Christian Science Monitor*, while accepting the councils, did so on the assumption they were to be incorporated into a larger world organization. Again and again this question of the balance of power cropped up. Commentators who were by no means sure that they wished America to collaborate in Europe nevertheless objected to any attempt by Britain to reconstitute the ill-famed balance. In a certain sense this attitude was a consequence of a natural resentment at the thought that Britain might be attempting to play off the United States and the Soviet Union against each other. But that was not the meaning of Mr. Churchill's speech.

Very few of the nation's newspapers have discussed frankly our relations with the Soviets, though an exception must be made of the New York press. The metropolitan journals, recognizing that Mr. Eden's visit was chiefly concerned with the problem of Russian relations, dealt quite boldly with the question. The London *Times* article proposing an Anglo-Russian bloc had prejudiced Mr. Eden's mission, for no State Department likes to be presented with a *fait accompli*, not even when it is a case of one of our friends coming to an agreement with another. Mr. Eden's statement that the London *Times* was not an official spokesman needed strong support, support which necessarily had to take the form of a reasoned argument covering the whole ground. Mr. Churchill was successful in this, his main intention.

While the exclusive bloc has been disavowed and there seems little suspicion remaining in this country, the reality of the British rapprochement with the Soviets is doubted by no one. Its necessity, indeed, has been everywhere acknowledged. It is now clearly realized that American refusal to deal adequately with the Soviets will not cause Britain to reverse its attitude. In a curious way, American realization of this is all the clearer because Mr. Churchill also assured the American conservatives that the Anglo-Soviet treaty—which, by the way, President Roosevelt originally proposed—does not mean that Britain will become Communist. In sum, and to say it in American terms, Mr. Churchill has rounded out Vice-President Wallace's utterances and looked right over the heads of the little men in the Berle corner of the State Department. That this represents an immense gain for the United States cannot be doubted, for if we are to have any illusions concerning the Anglo-Russian rapprochement we may be tempted to waste our time in trying to set up reactionary governments designed to hold the Soviets in check.

There has been little open talk of the *cordon sanitaire*. That the British leader unmistakably rejected the futile policy has doubtless something to do with this, for no cordon, however strong, could be maintained without British support. But this cannot be the sole explanation. The truth is that the idea no longer seems attractive to thoughtful conservatives. But, it will be remarked, no one ever does talk openly of a cordon; what one does mention is the independence of small frontier states. And this question was repeatedly raised, particularly by the New York *Times*, which used the following words: "The cordial and concerted agreement among Britain, the United States, and Russia on which the whole scheme rests must still be established. If Russia were to accept the stipulations regarding the small nations in conformity with the Atlantic Charter, America's cooperation would be much more assured than it is now." In other words, the recognition of the old *cordon sanitaire* states is to be a condition of American cooperation.

In sharp contrast, both the *Herald Tribune* leading editorial and Mr. Lippmann in his column gave clear support to what is now held to be the British opinion, that it would be best to yield to the Russian demands concerning the Baltic states, Poland, and Rumania. In any case, Mr. Churchill's words—"it will not be given to any one nation to achieve the full satisfaction of its individual wishes"—seem to leave the door open to compromise. And that Mr. Churchill was making a fair offer to the United States was called in doubt only by such elements as Representative Woodruff and the *Daily News*, which rejected collective security in favor of outright militarization of this country upon a conscription basis.

Throughout the country, then, though there was little attempt to formulate proposals in regard to the U. S. S. R. there was universal recognition of the necessity of coming to an agreement with it. This must be taken as by far the most important consequence of Mr. Churchill's speech. It is clear proof that the American people are ready to accept a progressive solution of the essential problem of collective security.

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The Mark Starr Case

NEW YORKERS have been wont to note with superior smiles the antics of educational authorities in what they regard as the less enlightened parts of the country. Now it is their turn to blush for New York City's Board of Education, which has refused to appoint an outstanding candidate to the new post of adult-education director, apparently on the ground that he has long been associated with labor unions. Mark Starr was recommended for this position by the Board of Superintendents and the Board of Examiners, who after exhaustive tests found him to be the only fully qualified applicant out of a list of nearly one hundred. It is not surprising that they should have done so. Mr. Starr began life as a pit boy and by his own efforts won himself a scholarship at the London Labor College. For more than twenty years he has devoted himself to the problems of adult education, and for the last eight he has been educational director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, a trade union which has done a unique job in making education an integral part of its activities.

In explaining why he voted against Mr. Starr, Ellsworth B. Buck, president of the board, said: "I would oppose the appointment as director of adult education of any man who had a long record as a labor antagonist. By the same token I oppose the appointment of a man who has a long record as a labor protagonist." Following the logic of this argument, the board should head its next advertisement of the position: "None but socially philosophic hermaphrodites need apply."

More seriously, the idea that labor sympathies should be a bar to an appointment of such vital interest to labor is one that must be challenged sharply. New York is a union city, and probably a majority of the students in adult-education classes are either union members or the children of union members. Why should they be deprived of the direction of someone who supports their aims and champions their rights? This does not mean that an adult-education program should be a course in indoctrination. On the contrary, as every experienced teacher in this field knows, the only successful way to educate adults in such fields as the social sciences is to present them with both sides of a question and give them an opportunity to reason it out for themselves. And this, we can state with assurance, is the educational method preached and practiced by Mark Starr.

Trade-union leaders are joining with outstanding educators in protesting against the action of the Board of Education. We hope they keep it up, but we hope too that this smack in the eye will stimulate them into taking a more constant interest in the educational problems of New York. Hitherto they have not exerted the influence on this department to which their strength entitles them and have left an open field to reactionary forces which have not failed to exploit their opportunities. We suspect that the pressure groups whose undercover activities are continually impeding educational progress in New York City—and in other large cities—are largely responsible for Mr. Starr's rejection. If labor does not wake up and play its proper part in exposing and routing these forces, New York City may come to be classed with Talmadge's Georgia.

The Language of Piracy

BENJAMIN F. FAIRLESS, president of the United States Steel Corporation, chose an interesting metaphor when he promised the Truman committee that persons responsible for passing defective steel plate at the Carnegie-Illinois steel works would "walk the plank" regardless of who they were. The language of piracy is peculiarly appropriate to such extraordinary behavior. We hope that Attorney General Biddle will respond to the appeal of Senator Truman and not merely rely upon the pledges now made by the corporation's own officials, but investigate the circumstances and criminally prosecute those responsible.

If the faking of tests and the passing of defective steel was, indeed, the work of underlings, the United States Steel Corporation is badly in need of reorganization. The testimony makes one wonder just how far up in the company's hierarchy this cheating of the government was authorized, suggested, or condoned. The indignation expressed and the punishment threatened by top officials must be read in the light of Senator Truman's statement that J. Lester Perry, president of Carnegie-Illinois, United States Steel's principal operating subsidiary, did not give investigators "very strong cooperation." According to the Senator, his investigators were hampered by the attitude of the company. It does not sound as if there was any great anxiety to root out this kind of cheating by subordinate employees, if that is all it was.

From the record so far unrolled, it is hard to avoid the inference that more is yet to be known of the whole affair. George E. Dye, supervisor of inspection, said he had been aware since last July that the mill "was shipping badly laminated and piped plates to the United States navy and United States maritime shipyards" and supplying defective steel for lend-lease. He said that he brought this to the attention of his supervisors and that his inspectors were assigned clerical duties that prevented them from doing an effective job. Newspaper reports say responsibility was traced no higher than William F. McGarrity, chief metallurgist of the Carnegie-Illinois Edgar Thompson Works. Dye testi-

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fied, however, that when he referred this matter to McGarrity last November, he was "instructed to reject all the bad plates." Two days later, according to Dye, he was told that McGarrity had "'got his ears beat back' when he brought the subject up in an operating meeting and I was instructed to go easy on rejections." This is denied by McGarrity, but it would seem to merit further inquiry. What higher officials sit in at these operating meetings? Is it possible that such practices can go on month after month, during a war, without some instructions from officials high in the councils of the company?

Perry might have been more candid on the stand. First he declared that the breaking in two of the tanker Schenectady during its trial run on the West Coast on January 16 was not due to the failure of steel. Perry gave as his authority the report of the American Bureau of Shipping. But when Senator Brewster proved from the same report that inferior plates "more like cast-iron than steel" did play a part, Perry gave a curious answer. He said that "in any event the plate at the point where the break began was not a product of the Irvin works." It took questioning by Senator Ferguson to bring out the fact that though this steel may not have come from the Irvin works, it did come from another plant of Perry's company, the Homestead Works. This sort of thing does not increase one's esteem for Perry.

That steel-company officials, subordinate or important, should indulge in cheating of this kind is both sickening and infuriating. The lives of our own fighting men and those of our allies were and, for all we know, still are endangered by ships made from defective steel. We hope that the power and prestige of the Steel Corporation will not save it from a thorough investigation by the Justice Department and that those responsible will be convicted and as severely punished as they deserve. And we hope that investigation and prosecution will not stop short with the first subordinate who is willing to "take the rap" for this shameful episode.

The Shipshaw Scandal

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 28

CURIOUSLY enough, none of the Congressmen who were so scornful of TVAs on the Danube have said anything about Shipshaw on the Saguenay. To establish public-power projects in foreign countries is philanthropic folly but to endow a dam in Canada for the aluminum trust is statesmanship. So at least I read the minds of these Congressmen and of some sectors of the conservative press. Mind-reading is necessary, because they have decided to keep as quiet as possible about the affair. From their point of view, there has already been too much talking by well-meaning but unsophisticated friends. For the whole deplorable revelation, it seems, is due neither to *PM* nor to the Washington Merry-Go-Round but to the New York *Times,* which in all innocence and with no intent whatsoever to muckrake let slip a hint of the facts. "If only they hadn't printed that story," said a power-trust stooge in a Washington hotel lobby, after a day of arduous labor at the WPB. "That story" is the dispatch from Ottawa published by the New York *Times* last January 31, "New Power Plant Gives Quebec Lead." The tip-off (the ivory-towered editors of the New York *Times* have grown unused to the wicked ways of crusading journalism) was the sentence which said, with childlike delight and ingenuousness, "Not the least amazing thing about it [the Shipshaw power development on the Saguenay River in Quebec] is that it is already paid for. . . ."

On investigation it turned out that this $65,900,000 project, which will not be completed until November, *was* more than paid for months ago. Inquiry, subterranean inquiry (for Jesse Jones does not make a fetish of candor), in Washington by Drew Pearson and this correspondent disclosed that Jesse Jones had given the Aluminum Company of Canada an advance of $68,500,000 interest free under contracts signed in the spring of last year. This was enough to pay the entire cost of the project, plus a *pourboire* of $2,600,000. The day after this was published in the Merry-Go-Round and *PM,* C. D. Howe, Canadian Minister of Munitions and Supply, rose in the House of Commons at Ottawa to explain—and there were further disclosures. Howe picked up a copy of the Ottawa *Evening Citizen* which carried a summary of the American stories headed "Canadian Plant Is Financed by American Funds." "As a matter of fact," Howe explained disingenuously, "this is wholly inaccurate. The Shipshaw development was built with the corporate funds of the Aluminum Corporation of Canada." Later, under prodding from nasty members of the opposition, Howe was a little more explicit, though almost as bland. "An advance payment was asked for the metal," Howe said of the aluminum to be produced with the power to be generated at Shipshaw, "and the money received was not capital; it was revenue—in other

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words, the sale of a product and the payment for it." That the entire cost of the project was paid off in advance, an interest-free advance payment against aluminum to be delivered by the end of 1945, is presumably a mere detail. Many a manufacturer would like to do business with the government on such a basis. This, to adapt the terminology used by critics of railroad labor, is, indeed, featherbed financing.

Howe's explanation revealed that the British had also made an advance payment "of the order of $10,000,000 to $12,000,000" and Australia of "I think $3,000,000 or $4,000,000"—he was oddly vague. He also disclosed that the Aluminum Company of Canada had the aid of the government of Canada in obtaining these not unfavorable terms. The plant might have been built with the proceeds of a loan at interest from the three governments, but of this conventional method Howe disapproved. "I took objection," Howe declared, "to other governments lending money to the company to meet the capital outlay subject to repayment after the war. We have tried to avoid burdens of that kind. What was finally evolved and accepted by the purchasers was that the Aluminum Company would sell at the current market price a block of aluminum to the three companies totaling the figure I have just given." Howe had not given it, but the advances obviously total $81,500,000 to $84,500,000. The Aluminum Company itself seemed to consider these arrangements somewhat better than the "common practice" they were termed by Howe. For the Ottawa *Hansard* reports this amusing tidbit during the debate:

> *Mr. Coldwell:* If I may ask a question, is it not fair to say that by advance payment on future purchases of aluminum the United States is assisting in paying for this plant, as are also other governments?
>
> *Mr. Howe:* No. I am coming to that now.
>
> *Mr. Coldwell:* I have their prospectus before me, and they make that statement.
>
> *Mr. Howe:* Do not mix up two things.

Howe did not specify what he meant by "two things." Perhaps one of them was what one may properly boast of to one's shareholders; the other, how one should discreetly explain it to the public.

This is more than another case of financial favoritism to the Aluminum Company. That is an old story at the RFC. This is part of what will be seen more clearly in later years as a gigantic plan to enable the aluminum trust to dominate the power and aluminum business in North America. It demands investigation, and it is good to see that Senator Truman, to whom we owe earlier aluminum revelations, has addressed an inquiry on it to Jesse Jones and that Congressman Coffee of Washington has introduced a resolution in the House calling for a joint Congressional investigation. Unless there is pressure upon Congress, the Coffee resolution will be buried, and the Truman committee may let the sheer volume of its activities distract it from the Shipshaw scandal. The Northwest, the Southeast, and New York State are the areas from which that pressure should come, for enough is known to show that public-power developments in the Columbia River basin, in the Tennessee Valley, and in the St. Lawrence area were sidetracked to make way for Shipshaw. More important than the financial terms granted the Aluminum Company by Jones is the fact that Shipshaw was given preferential treatment on priorities at the WPB while major additions to capacity at Grand Coulee and TVA and a badly needed transmission line between New York City and the St. Lawrence were stalled and finally shelved.

Had these American projects been private and the Shipshaw project public, there would long ago have been an outcry from the press. For Shipshaw has been built in the Canadian wilds under the most difficult of circumstances while much more accessible sources of power here have been ignored. I quote again from the tell-tale New York *Times* account of Shipshaw: "For many months it has been a 'hush-hush' war mystery not to be written about. . . . But strange tales circulated in Quebec province about how the work was being carried on in temperatures 30° below zero, of the blasting of 18,000 cubic yards of solid rock, of the big dam at Lake Manouan, 170 air-line miles up in the wilderness, where there is no railroad and no road, so that everything, men, horses, and thousands of tons of equipment, including 'bulldozers,' trucks, and steam shovels, had to be flown in."

Compare these conditions with Grand Coulee, where a dam and a powerhouse wait for three generators long ago authorized by Congress, generators which would add close to 350,000 kilowatts of capacity to the Bonneville area. Compare these conditions with TVA, where Congress has authorized downstream generating units with some 600,000 extra kilowatts of capacity. Why were these and smaller public-power projects in California's Central Valley denied priorities on generators and turbines while equipment was rushed to Shipshaw? Why was copper sent to Shipshaw, though it was denied, despite the President's instructions and the War Department's approval, to the Massena-New York transmission line which is all we need to tap the 500,000 kilowatts of capacity now idle in the New York City area? How the New Dealers would be trounced for their impracticality and for sacrificing the war effort to public power if the situation were the reverse of what it is!

The answer is that the RFC and the WPB are both dominated by enemies of public power and friends of the aluminum trust. The foremost of these is Jesse Jones. They want no more expansion at Grand Coulee or elsewhere in the Northwest because it would be public

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power and because Congress provided in the Bonneville Act that this power should not become the basis of any industrial monopolies, as in aluminum. They want only so much expansion in TVA as is necessary for the convenience of the Aluminum Company and other big metal and chemical concerns. They would rather leave 500,000 kilowatts—the base for the production of 500,000,000 pounds of aluminum a year—idle in New York City than build a transmission line which might ultimately bring cheap St. Lawrence power back to the metropolis. They have laid their plans well. Promises by Jones to set up more producers of aluminum have been forgotten. With the exception of one small project for Olin Corporation, all the government-owned plants are under Alcoa operation. All were designed by Alcoa, and use an older and less efficient method of separating the aluminum from the alumina. This will provide an argument for scrapping them after the war because they will be unable to compete with more efficient and lower-cost aluminum-trust plants here and in Canada. Several of the biggest, like that in Queens, New York, have been located in high-cost power areas, and this will furnish another argument for selling them to the junk man. Finally, the Aluminum Company of Canada, with its cost-free power and aluminum plants on the Saguenay in Quebec, will be in a position to sell the light metal more cheaply in this country than any government or private plant.

The Shipshaw project, financed cost free out of public funds, will provide a new argument in the fight the aluminum trust has waged for two generations to stifle, if it could not dominate, the development of the St. Lawrence. Shipshaw, says that New York *Times* story, "will give far more power than Canada would have obtained from the St. Lawrence waterways scheme." The objection to Shipshaw arises from no nationalistic animus against a development in Canada but from objections to a private deal which will enable the aluminum and power trusts to undercut public power and the industries dependent upon it on both sides of the border, in Ontario as in the Northwest, the Tennessee Valley, and New York. In the last war we built Muscle Shoals and then fought two decades over its control. The public finally won. The aluminum and power trusts, thanks to Jesse Jones and the WPB, have been able to pursue a wiser policy this time. They have arranged for us to build them a new and greater Muscle Shoals, a project as great as Boulder Dam, in the Canadian wilds. And this time they arranged in advance that though we foot the bill, the property shall be theirs.

Why They Follow John L. Lewis

BY SELDEN C. MENEFEE

Hazard, Ky., March 23

IF A collapse in the present negotiations between John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers and the operators of the Appalachian coal fields should be followed by a strike call, the miners would back their national leadership practically 100 per cent. Some of them would stay away from work only because "there is nothing else we can do," but all would stay away, and the mines would be closed. I reached this conclusion after talking last week with about a hundred miners in Logan County, West Virginia, and Perry County, Kentucky, two of the largest coal-producing areas.

If the miners strike, however, it will be with genuine reluctance. The great majority of them realize that a halt in production now would interfere seriously with the war effort. "The way I see it, coal is at the bottom of the whole war," one man told me. "It takes coal to melt the iron ore, and it takes iron and steel to make guns and tanks." The miners do not want to interrupt this process. Nearly all of them are buying war bonds on the pay-roll allotment plan; and house after company house displays one, two, or even three blue or silver stars in the window.

A Kentucky miner assured me, with deep emotion, "I don't want to do a thing that will hurt our government. I got a boy in the army, and I'd hate to see the coal stop coming from the mines even for one day, for fear it might hurt him." Yet this man, like the others, expressed his firm intention of supporting the union's stand even if it means a strike.

A general coal strike at this stage of the war would do more than hamper war production. It would touch off an anti-union campaign unequaled in labor history. The press has already sharpened its sword. Fred W. Perkins, for example, a Scripps-Howard writer covering the negotiations, has repeatedly referred to the pending strike as one which "would delay victory and might even lose the war." A mine shutdown is all that would be needed to induce the present Congress to pass strong anti-strike and anti-labor legislation. Several Representatives have already made this clear in public statements.

In the event of a strike, the inevitable hysteria can be minimized and the miners saved from unreasoning attacks which would leave them bewildered and embittered only if the situation in the coal fields is clearly under-

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stood. The willingness of the miners to follow their union leaders is traceable to three things. First, they have profound faith in the rightness of union policy, a faith which was reinforced by their hard-won victory in the 1941 strike. The union has raised basic wages in the mines to $7 a day and has proved the miners' only real protection against the operators. The miners' loyalty, by and large, is to the union itself and the local leaders rather than to the national officers. But Lewis has a strong personal following, especially in the recently organized Southern fields, which benefited by abolition of the North-South wage differential two years ago.

Second, the miners all feel that rapidly rising prices make the present wage scale unfair. "We've got to live and feed our kids," they say. They don't complain about deductions for war bonds, but they see the Victory tax and the projected 20 per cent withholding feature of the new income-tax law as cuts in pay. They are anxious to earn enough to offset these inroads on their cash income.

Third, most of the miners believe, optimistically, that the need for coal is so great that their demands will be met, or some reasonable compromise made, in order to keep the mines in operation. Many of them predict that the negotiations will continue right up to the deadline, when a settlement will be reached. If they do shut down the mines, the men will think of themselves as just "sitting at home waiting for a contract to be signed" rather than as actively striking. They believe such a strike would last only a few days. They fervently hope so, for most of them remember the three-months strike in 1941, when suffering was acute despite union aid and the dollar-a-day food credits allowed by some company stores.

I went into the coal fields with two preconceptions: that Lewis's demands for a $9 basic wage and an $8 absolute minimum, if fully realized, would destroy the present wage- and price-control system that is our main protection against inflation; and that a basic wage of $7 a day was pretty fair pay anyway, even in this period of rising prices. Of the validity of the first I am still convinced. But such concepts as the Little Steel formula and the "spiral of inflation" mean nothing to nine-tenths of the miners. For them, the battle is as always strictly between them and the operators, with the danger of hurting war production only an unfortunate complicating factor.

On the adequacy of the prevailing $7 wage I changed my opinion after witnessing the widespread poverty that still exists in the mining camps. "We could buy more with $5.60 two years ago than we can with $7 today," miner after miner declared. Reports that the men squander their money are wholly unfounded. I saw crowds of people in the stores of Logan on a Saturday night, but most of them were buying the necessities of life. The liquor stores were not nearly so busy as those of Mobile, Seattle, and other centers of new war industry.

The continued poverty of the miners is due in part to the numerous and sizable deductions made from their pay by the operators. After war-bond allotments and Social Security and Victory taxes are taken out, there are deductions for rent, light, water, and coal, and then for health, hospital, and burial benefits. The men are even required to pay rental for the lamps they use in the mines and the cost of the explosives they need to get out the coal. I saw several pay slips on which gross figures of $80 to $90 for two weeks' work had been trimmed down a third to a half by these charges. "They got back that last pay raise long ago in bigger cuts and higher prices at the commissary," one miner told me. The workers are not forced to take "scrip" usable only in the company stores, but most of them are obliged to buy a large part of their supplies from the company because it is so hard to get into town. Complaints of overcharging and violations of ceiling prices in the company stores are widespread.

Another cause for dissatisfaction among the miners is the lack of overtime pay. "The operators got their raise of 14 cents a ton to cover time and a half for Saturday work, but they haven't passed it on to us," a West Virginia miner complained; "they only started overtime work a few weeks ago to make a showing at the negotiations." A local union official in Kentucky said to me, "The operators somehow manage to shut down one day during every week to avoid working us over thirty-five hours, so they can pay us straight time on Saturdays. Usually they plead a lack of cars; but last week they used as an excuse the funeral of a colored man who hadn't even worked in the mine for the last four years. All Saturday work should be at time-and-a-half rate." If the miners were allowed to work six straight days a week there would be much better feeling toward the companies. This would seem a not unreasonable desire on their part, especially if the danger of a coal shortage is as great as the newspapers assert.

Finally, a major factor in the existing bad relations between miners and operators is the terrible squalor of most of the camps. Unpainted shanties, with muddy yards on muddy streets and practically no sanitary facilities, clutter up the bottom land along every river and creek in the mining districts. The comfortable homes of supervisory employees are usually set apart on higher land—"Snobs' Knob," the miners term it in one camp near Holden—and provide a glaring contrast. Miners' houses barely large enough for one family are divided to hold two; the coal-streaked faces of unkempt children peer through every window and around every door when a stranger approaches.

I visited one house at Allais, Kentucky, in which the holes in the rough board floor and around the doors were

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big enough for a man to put his hand through. The miner's wife told me that on windy days it was impossible to keep the house warm, even with coal fires in both the fireplace and the kitchen stove. She was doing the family wash when I called, heating the water over a coal fire in the muddy yard. This tiny house, sheltering a family of seven, was rented for about $30 a month, including light, water, and coal. That may not seem high to a city dweller, but considering the condition of the house and the lower rent formerly charged for it, the miner finds it exorbitant. In some camps the miners are charged a set rate for coal each month, regardless of whether they need or get it (the price of coal here is only about $3.50 a ton). Little grievances such as these are often the ones that rankle the most.

Conditions are not uniformly bad. I found fairly well-kept camps at Seco and in the Jenkins district of eastern Kentucky. One camp at Holden, West Virginia, has a swimming pool which is open to those miners and their families who can pass a health test. In Harlan County, long an anti-union stronghold with its captive mines, I am told that showers have been installed at some mine exits. The miners appreciate any benefits provided by the operators, but they still look to their union for guidance and support.

Some union leaders claim that there is enough coal above ground to last for several weeks or months; and the U. M. W. has provided for the continued operation of mines outside the Appalachian area. These, however, produce only 28 per cent of the nation's coal. As long as the issue is between the operators and their employees, the union will keep its following intact. But if the federal government finds it necessary to take over the mines to keep the war industries going, all the indications are that the men will gladly go back to work pending a final settlement. They put Uncle Sam above John L. Lewis.

Steel Wins Wars

BY FRITZ STERNBERG

"STEEL remains the most important single item in the modern war test," writes the London *Economist*. This statement has been amply confirmed by the events of two world wars.

German patriots have always boasted that in the first war Germany was enabled to hold out against its enemies for four years by the genius of its military leaders and the heroism of its soldiers. In reality, military superiority throughout the war went hand in hand with superiority in the production of iron and steel. Frederick the Great's observation that God was invariably on the side of the big battalions can be modernized into God is on the side of the country with the biggest production of iron and steel.

Germany began the First World War, as the second, with a Blitzkrieg. This had direct and important military results. Ferdinand Friedensburg, one of the best-known German experts, wrote in "Coal and Iron in the World War" (Berlin, 1934):

> The rapid German offensives in the west and in the east resulted in the capture of the strategically unfavorably situated coal and iron districts of southwestern Poland, Belgium, and northern France. In this way a quarter of the Russian production of coal and a twelfth of the Russian production of pig-iron fell into German hands. The whole of Belgium's coal and iron production, half of France's production of coal, and no less than two-thirds of her production of pig-iron and steel also came into Germany's possession.

As a result, Germany's heavy industry and steel production expanded out of all proportion to that of the Entente. In August, 1914, the yearly steel production of the Central Powers was estimated at 21,000,000 tons and that of the Allies at 19,000,000 tons. But after the conquests of the first six weeks German steel production leaped to 24,000,000 tons—though not all the steel capacity of occupied France and Belgium could be used—while the production of the Allies was reduced to 13,000,000 tons. By this first lightning victory the Kaiser's armies gained a superiority in the supply of steel which was overcome only by the entry of the United States into the war.

In the First World War the greater part of the German army was always concentrated on the western front. Not more than a third of the effective divisions and at times only a fifth were sent against Russia. These troops, despite their numerical weakness, were able to win overwhelming victories because a highly industrialized Germany faced a predominantly agricultural Russia. To Russia's production of steel, which at that time was 4,436,000 tons, Germany opposed a production almost four times as great.

In spite of its initial successes in the west, in spite of the weakness of Russia at the time, the Kaiser lost the war when the industrial capacity and later the growing military strength of the United States were thrown into the balance. In 1917 the steel production of the Central Powers totaled only 16,000,000 tons, but the Allies, in-

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cluding the United States, were producing 58,000,000 tons. That was the decisive factor.

In the years immediately preceding the Second World War, Nazi Germany, as we know, organized its industry for war and enlarged its steel capacity every year. In the year which saw Munich, the annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland, the construction of the western fortifications, and a trial mobilization in Germany, the production of iron and steel in Germany was of course greatly stepped up. On the other hand, in the same year, at a time when the issue of peace or war was in the balance, the Western powers allowed their production of iron and steel to fall. In Great Britain and France it was only four-fifths as large as in 1937. Production for armament in these countries represented but a small part of their economic activity, whereas peace production played a decidedly minor role in National Socialist Germany.

On the heels of the economic recession which began in the United States in the autumn of 1937, industrial activity throughout the world was slowed up. The recession was so great that, despite the increase in armament, steel production in England fell from 8,629,000 tons in 1937 to 6,872,000 in 1938; in France from 7,914,000 tons in 1937 to 6,027,000 in 1938. The output of Germany's steel industry, however, steadily forged ahead until it far outstripped that of Great Britain and France combined.

With steel production in the last year of peace almost four times that of France, Germany started the Second World War; after its short campaign in Poland it went on to lightning victories in the west, and seemed to have conquered the world.

In the last year of peace and in the first phases of the war our attention was concentrated on the strength of Germany's military machine and war industry. We failed to consider the tremendous change that had taken place in the industrial structure of Soviet Russia in the period between the two wars, especially since the inauguration of the Five-Year plans. As the country had developed industrially, its steel production had increased accordingly. German experts called attention to this development very early, and we now know that it became a decisive factor in world history. Friedensburg wrote:

> *Despite the tremendous material and psychological* effects of coal and iron on the origin, course, and end of the World War, the changes in the distribution of coal and iron factors have been comparatively small. In this respect a new war would find the situation much the same as it was at the beginning of the last. . . . Of all the great powers Russia is the only one which could face a new war considerably stronger with regard to coal and iron supplies than she was in 1914. Under the stress of economic circumstances Russia has learned to get on without foreign supplies, and she has tremendously strengthened her own productive apparatus. In this respect she has profited from the important lesson learned by many countries during the last war, namely, that in the event of war a country can reckon with certainty only on those mining and industrial districts which are situated well inside its boundaries.

In 1938, the last year before war broke out, German steel production was 22,991,000 tons and Russian 18,156,000 tons. That means that Russia had become the second strongest country in Europe; in steel and in heavy industry generally, Russia probably produced four-fifths as much as Germany.

The strategy of this war has been different from that of the first in that Germany has had to fight on only one front. When the German army attacked Russia in 1941, America was still at peace and England's air raids over Germany were few and small. Though German armies of occupation were stationed all over Europe, we may assume that about four-fifths of the German army fought against Russia in 1941 and 1942. In the First World War Russian steel production was one-fourth that of Germany, and one-fourth of the German army fought against czarist Russia; at the beginning of this war Russian steel production was four-fifths that of Germany, and four-fifths of the German army fought against the Soviet Union. In other words, Germany's steel production, as compared with that of the enemy, was the key to the distribution of the German army.

I don't mean to say that steel production, the development of heavy industry and aircraft manufacture in the Soviet Union, explains everything. Without the tremendous courage of the Russian soldiers, without the almost incredible capacity of the Russian people to withstand suffering, without the consciousness of the masses that this is their war, the successes of the Red Army would not have been possible. But one of the decisive factors in today's war has been Russia's industrial development, of which its steel production is typical. Though Germany has concentrated 80 per cent of its troops on the eastern front, it has achieved only small and indecisive success, and that at the cost of much of its reserves of men and matériel.

Germany is on the way to defeat, but the Allies have still a long way to go before Germany's military strength is broken. In this war as in the last the military and industrial might of the United States tips the scale. The future stages of the war will show the role of steel production more clearly than those of the past have done. I have said that England's steel production was less in 1938 than in 1937. Since 1939, however, England and the empire have been producing to the limit of their capacity, which is now from 17,000,000 to 18,000,000 tons annually. On the other hand, Russian steel production has been greatly reduced by the German invasion. However, though the Soviet government gives out no figures, we know that it is pushing industrial develop-

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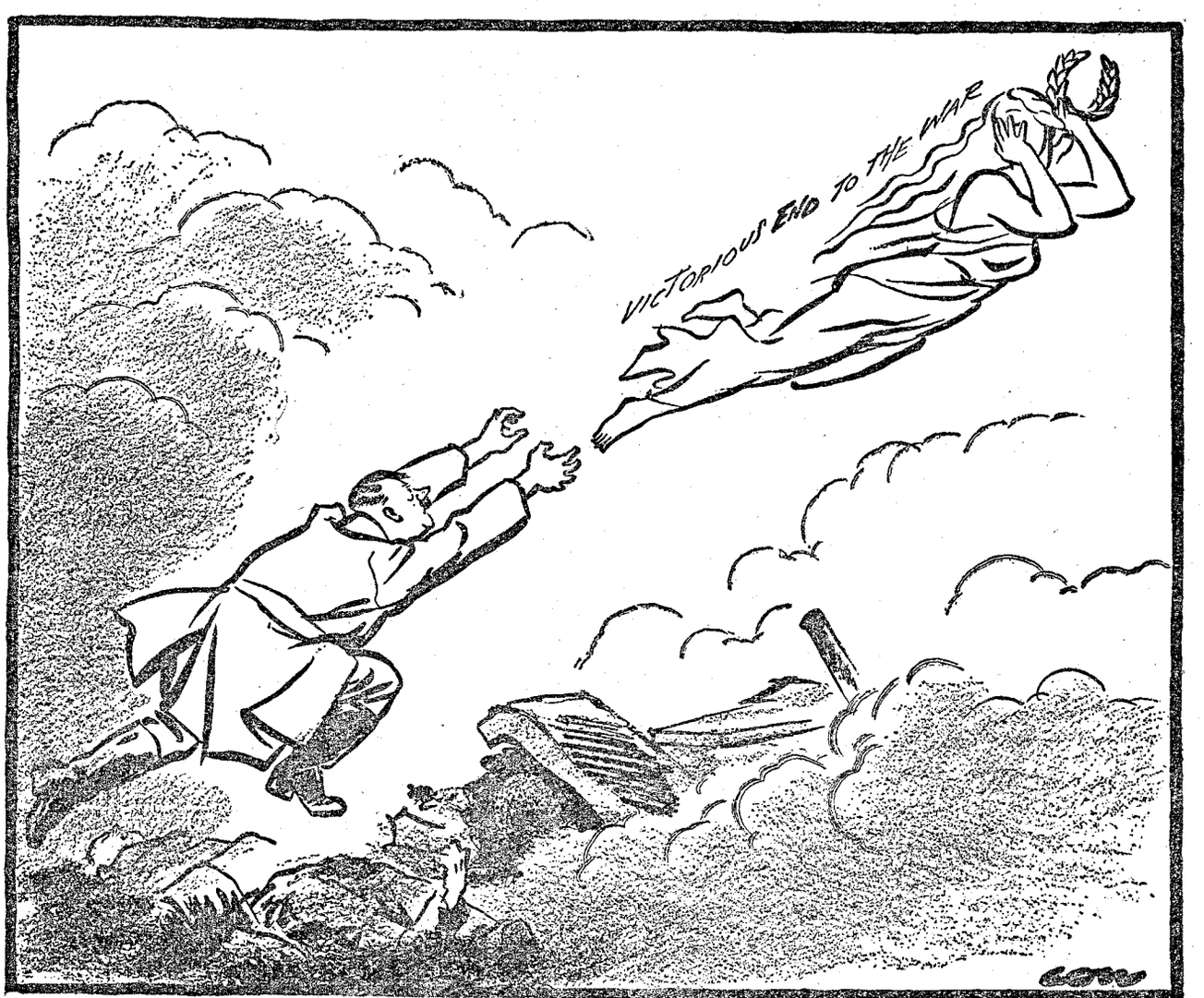
ment in the Urals and in Asia. In its December, 1942, issue the London *Economist* said:

> The latest reports from the "industrial front" show that the process of expansion in Russia's eastern war industries has not halted. The most recent achievement is the opening of a new giant blast furnace at Magnitogorsk. The furnace has been described as the largest in Europe, "only slightly below the capacity of the largest blast furnaces in the United States." Its annual capacity is said to exceed half a million tons of cast-iron. Its construction took only five months, and the furnace was put into operation on December 5. Another new furnace of similar size is to be opened in the Urals within the next few weeks. The Deputy Commissar for the Iron and Steel Industries has summed up the position:
>
> "The Soviet iron and steel industry now produces every type of steel required by the war industries and is fully meeting demands. This is one of the main results of our work in 1942. All the works, including those in the Urals, which before the war produced the so-called trade metal have now been completely reorganized for the production of high-quality war metal used in making tanks, planes, and shells."

Despite these developments in Asiatic Russia it appears that Russian steel production today is hardly any greater than at the beginning of the war. The combined production of Russia and England is somewhat less than that at the disposal of Nazi Germany, which includes the capacity of all Continental Europe, reduced as that is. Germany's production, however, is only a fraction of that of America.

When the war broke out in Europe in 1939, American steel-ingot production was 52,800,000 net tons. It was at that time already greater than that of Germany, plus all the conquered countries, plus Italy, plus Japan. In 1941 it had risen to 82,930,000 tons; in 1942 it advanced to 86,000,000, and by the end of last year it was running at the annual rate of 89,000,000 tons. The latest War Production Board estimates of capacity at the end of 1942 are as high as 93,000,000 tons.

British and Russian production have been enough to keep Hitler's army cooped up in Europe. It is at least doubtful whether it is enough for complete victory. American production, however, is now almost double that of all the Axis countries combined. This gives the anti-Axis powers such superiority that a general offensive with victory on the battlefield can be only a matter of time.



STILL ON AND ON AND ON.

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The Coming Offensive in the Pacific

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

IN THE second phase of the Pacific war, which now appears to have ended, the Japanese made numerous attempts to eliminate the United Nations bases nearest to their newly conquered empire and to cut the transport lines to Australia, but the Allied defense was generally successful. The third and final phase of hostilities, a successful United Nations offensive in Japan's own waters, has yet to start, but reports from MacArthur indicate that the enemy, having failed to dislodge our forces, is strengthening his bases in the East Indies in expectation of counter-blows. Our main interest now centers in how soon we shall be able to take the offensive and how well we have learned what our experience in the war should have taught us.

The outstanding lesson of the Pacific war has been the interdependence of air, sea, and land power. In the beginning we frequently paid only lip-service to this principle, but we have applied it with increasing effectiveness as the war has progressed. Ideally, all three forces should operate under one command; separate commands of any sort in the area of hostilities shoud be avoided. Closer support of the marines on Guadalcanal by MacArthur's soldiers and more help from the navy in the campaign in New Guinea would have eased some of the difficulties in both areas.

The air force has brilliantly taken over certain duties formerly identified with army or navy, but it has achieved its greatest triumphs not as a separate agent but in conbination with land and sea forces. The plane carrier, for example, has become the capital ship of today, though it has not outmoded the battleship, which has steadily gained in power to deal with air attack. The Flying Fortresses so dear to the heart of the Air Corps have passed the acid test of war, but for work against ship targets their high-altitude bombing has been much less effective than dive bombers and torpedo planes.

A year and a half of war has uncovered weaknesses and strengths in all the services with a completeness impossible in days of peace. The early fighting following Pearl Harbor demonstrated that American military and naval leadership left much to be desired. Shifts in command, not all of which were made public, eliminated much dead wood, and our officer corps has in recent months compiled a fine record. The mid-November naval battle in the Solomons and the Air Corps's victory in the Bismarck Sea were both practically "perfect" victories and are certain to become classics.

On some fronts, however, there has been evident a lack of imagination in the services. In Tunisia as at Pearl Harbor and in the Philippines and the Solomons, our sea, air, and land leaders have shown that they do not learn from example but only through experience. Virtually every defeat we have sustained has been due to a failure to prepare adequately against enemy tactics whose character had already been shown. Thus the Philippine air force was largely destroyed on the ground; four 10,000-ton cruisers were lost because it was believed an approaching inferior Japanese force would not attack; and the rout of our men by Rommel in February was largely the result of poor intelligence work and antiquated tactics. Fortunately this fault has been more than counterbalanced in the Pacific by the lack of originality and the blind aggressiveness of the Japanese, which have kept them attacking regardless of losses.

New capacities as well as old weaknesses have been uncovered by the war. All through our modern naval history we have been hampered by slow repair and construction of ships. On the basis of this bad record the sinking of five battleships at Pearl Harbor and the severe damaging of others would have been judged almost fatal. Yet these losses were repaired with a speed little short of miraculous. Meanwhile the navy, making a virtue of necessity, substituted carrier-cruiser striking groups for its crippled heavyweights, and these won repeatedly, even when outnumbered.

The last few months have shown further that Americans are outdistancing the enemy in the technical improvement of weapons. This has been most marked in the air, where lopsided figures of losses have long been the rule. In the Bismarck Sea battle 136 American planes destroyed not only more than two-thirds of the 150 Japanese planes encountered, but 10 warships and 12 transports carrying 15,000 men.

New warships and old ones rearmed carry far more potent defensive weapons against Japanese planes than they had three years ago. The advantage of enemy planes over our surface craft has been heavily cut, while our own air forces have a greater margin of superiority over Japanese air and sea forces than ever before. This lead in technical development will undoubtedly be lengthened as the war continues. Our submarines were expected to do well in the Pacific because they could be based close to enemy trade lanes, but it was not foreseen that they would be able to sink a ship every other day or that the highly rated Japanese submarines would claim so few victims.

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Of vital interest is the question how effective our war of attrition has actually been. Enemy losses of manpower can at once be written off as of very little practical importance. Amphibious war does not require large mass armies of the European type, and Japan could lose ten times the troops we have wiped out without being crippled. The big overseas empire which Japan has acquired needs a huge merchant fleet for both economic and military purposes. Secretary Knox is authority for the statement that 28 per cent of the 6,400,000 tons of shipping with which Japan entered the war has been sunk but that new construction and the capture of Allied ships has reduced the net loss to about 14 per cent. Such losses, unless maintained and increased over a long period of time, cannot break down the inter-island communication lines.

But planes and warships are things that the Japanese can ill afford to lose. The ability of our machines and men consistently to outfight and outbomb the enemy has maintained a rate of attrition not far short of the 600 planes a month that it is estimated Japan produces and almost certainly ahead of the number of high-grade pilots being turned out. The extremely heavy sinkings of cruisers and carriers have greatly cut down the Japanese navy's offensive capacity. And in both planes and warships the proportion of American output going to the Pacific can hold and increase this superiority.

These cumulative losses help to explain the present lull in hostilities. Japanese offensive strength has been so greatly lessened that common prudence suggests a defensive course and the retention of some power in reserve. Our recent air and sea raids on enemy outposts provide a certain insurance against any efforts by the enemy to resume the offensive. They may also serve another purpose, for the dispersal of Japanese forces over a wide area clearly invites attack.

Outspoken Admiral Halsey has said that he believes we have sufficient offensive strength to justify a prophecy of early victory. This blunt forecast of early success is interesting since our entire war strategy seems to rule out any immediate direct attack. But it is no secret that the United States is building scores of plane carriers of several types and that deliveries have already started. We will shortly have several times as many carriers as on the day of Pearl Harbor. While not all are of the best possible type as to speed and carrying capacity, a fleet of, say, thirty carriers with an average of forty planes each would constitute a floating air force capable of achieving overwhelming air superiority almost anywhere. Heavy and persistent attacks on the Japanese mainland itself would lie well within possibility.

Whether such attacks will be undertaken in the near future no one knows. But before the end of 1943 we shall have this strong carrier force available. If well used, it may easily become the surprise weapon of 1943.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

CAPTAIN Hermann Wilhelm Göring, minister of the new Hitler dictatorship, expresses his passionate indignation at the "dirty lies" charging persecution in Germany. "Throughout all Germany there has not been a single person from whom even one fingernail was chopped off," he shouts. But almost in the same breath he declares: "There have been a few cases where Jews and others have been dragged from their homes and beaten. . . . Some storm troopers have terribly beaten up this one or that one. . . . It is humanly understandable if they took justice in their own hands. . . . You know how bitterly anti-Semitic some of our people are."—*April 5, 1933.*

OLDEST AND LARGEST nudist organization in America offers membership to intellectual men and women of clean character, believing in the modern doctrine of sun and air bathing. (Advt.)—*April 5, 1933.*

THE ADMINISTRATION'S bill for the regulation of security sales, to be sure, locks the barn door after the horse has been stolen. . . . But may it not be that some loot is still recoverable? Was Charlie Mitchell the only financier who wrote off a half-million-dollar income tax by a sale to a relative? Isn't that an unwarranted aspersion on the ingenuity of a whole generation of financial giants?—*April 12, 1933.*

WILL AUSTRIA, this pale and shrunken state caught in the nutcracker of Fascist Italy and Hitler Germany, be the next to succumb to the enormous pressure of reaction in Central Europe? . . . Menacing Dollfuss, who is himself on the right, are two camps even farther to the right. If the Heimwehr, his semi-allies, don't gobble him, the Nazis will. —*April 12, 1933.*

AFTER a two-year struggle . . . the principle of direct federal unemployment relief has at last been accepted. President Roosevelt's program bristles with bad points as well as good ones, but it at least recognizes and accepts the responsibility of the federal government for its jobless citizens—which means, in fact, that it accepts the principle of the direct dole which *The Nation* has so long advocated.—*April 5, 1933.*

THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS still have a chance for liberty, but it may be a matter of years—and years pass slowly in the cells that the South reserves for its Negro "citizens." Meanwhile, we urge our readers to contribute as generously as they can to the Scottsboro defense fund.—*April 19, 1933.*

WHILE THE ATTENTION of the Western world has been engaged elsewhere, the Japanese have not been idle. . . . The Japanese seem determined to swallow China piecemeal, and they refuse to reckon the cost. They are apparently prepared . . . to risk international intervention and a possible world war to gain their end.—*April 26, 1933.*

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Will Hays's New Rival

BY JOHN McDONALD

WE HAVE to a large extent protected our books, magazines, and newspapers with the laws and customs of freedom, but we have allowed the movies, product of our own generation, to languish without privilege, like the second son under primogeniture. Several years ago the movies were taken over by an economic monopoly and a private censorship, guided into an extreme commercialism, and given the character of an "amusement industry," along with Ferris wheels and roller coasters. We make a distinction between such industries and, for example, the publishing business; and it appears that by accepting the industry's estimate of its purpose we have been maneuvered into degrading an entire form of communication. Now the movies are under pressure to submit to a kind of government supervision which may complete their conversion into a propaganda instrument for the manipulation of our culture.

The Office of War Information wants to do what we have always allowed other agencies to do—to look films over before the public sees them. Almost all movies have in the past been reviewed and altered by the Production Code Administration of the Hays Office.* The OWI proposes to subject them to a second review. When Lowell Mellett, chief of the OWI Bureau of Motion Pictures, went to Hollywood a short time ago to make final arrangements, he said that all major studios had agreed to this review. When he returned, neither he nor the industry would make any comment, but it appeared that no general agreement had been reached, and that the issue had opened a major controversy concerning the relation of films to the government.

The purpose of the proposed OWI review, according to reports in the trade press, is to provide a "standard procedure" for transmitting "voluntary propaganda requirements" to motion-picture producers. These requirements have been reduced to a kind of flexible and developing OWI code. The reasons given for review are technical. It is difficult for the OWI to secure the application of its code without seeing film scripts in advance of production; for obvious financial reasons producers are often unwilling to make changes after production is completed. Some producers, notably those under Paramount, are said to ignore the OWI; contacts made by others, except Warner Brothers, are intermittent. On the whole the relationship is casual.

When the proposal for review was first made last December, the trade press, on behalf of producers and the Hays Office, raised the cry of censorship. Mr. Mellett replied that there is no censorship in this type of review for the reason that it lacks sanctions for enforcement. If sanctions were merely a question of police power, his proposal probably would have met no resistance. Mr. Mellett has joined in the President's statement "I want no censorship of the motion picture," and his sincerity is not to be doubted. But he appears to have overlooked the power of his office, a power that carries sanctions in the moral suasion of a government conducting war and in the diffused controls of a high executive in coordinated government.

Formalized government review shifts the burden of dissent to the producer. Under ordinary circumstances Mr. Mellett would have to take the step of disapproving all or part of a completed film. Under the reviewing procedure the blue pencil goes on the script, and the producer must take the step of disregarding a specific recommendation of the government. A producer inclined to dissent may fear that such action will appear as an unpatriotic defiance of the government.

Review unlooses a second sanction, implicit in coordinated government. Like other industries, the movie industry has to justify itself to get its rations; and nothing frightens producers now more than the problems of man-power and materials. Can a producer, then, ignore the Film Chief's relation to officials in the War Manpower Commission, the War Production Board, and other agencies important to the physical life of the industry? The connection between ideas and materials is illustrated in the review of all fact films by the War Production Board. No civilian fact films, except domestic newsreels, can be made today without WPB approval. Mr. Mellett is adviser to the WPB on the selection of fact films for which materials will be allowed. It is beside the point that Mr. Mellett would never use his influence against a particular producer. The point is that his office gives him wide collateral powers, creating a psychological hazard that interferes with the producer's freedom of choice.

The expansion of government, the new powers and controls it exercises in administering the whole economy

* A number of state and local censorship boards are engaged in reviewing films. In certain areas they form a serious obstacle to a free screen, supplanting the normal procedure of formal complaint and trial by jury for violations of laws of decency. They have been cited as the excuse for the Hays Office censorship to end other censorships. This article is concerned only with censorship at the source, that is, censorship governing production and national release.

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for war, creates an entirely new set of real and implied pressures on the instruments of communication. The channeling of these pressures through review injures the sense of freedom, a feeling that contains the quintessence of what we celebrate as American.

In any other medium a proposal of this kind would surely be widely opposed; in the movies it is widely accepted as natural. The press is an independent public factor in the making of war and peace; and the OWI would not think of reviewing its copy before publication. The film critic of the New York *Times* has indorsed review of the movies, but he would probably join his editor in protest against review of the press. Yet one must either hold review to be in principle as valid for one as for the other, or retire to the untenable position of approving a double standard for words and pictures.

Since there are no serious advocates of review of the press, except in the Post Office, one may assume that the double standard is at the center of the movie difficulty and ask the upholders of review of the movies to explain themselves. To this writer the double standard appears a fault of the industry itself and of an acquiescent public.

Industry spokesmen say: We teach nothing, we are only showmen. The rigor of the Production Code is the industry's own denial of that policy. Has not the code taught, for example, that sin is always punished? And has not the Hays Office closed the channels of distribution to pictures that failed to exemplify that teaching? Actually the policy of unqualified entertainment is a box-office come-on and a good way to sell merchandise. According to a Hollywood gag, the film industry is in the canning business. No one doubts that the movies are and should be first of all entertaining. But not many doubt that the movies teach all kinds of things from dogmatic theology to Veronica Lake hair-dos, not to speak of alleged facts. In asserting itself as a purely commercial enterprise, the moving-picture industry has abdicated the preferential position to which it is entitled as a form of communication and an independent cultural force.

The movies have a stronger base for independence than any other medium. Unlike the press and radio, they sell only to their audience, without benefit of advertisers or sponsors. Yet the press is regarded as a public institution, while monopoly has contributed to the view that the movies are a private enterprise. The film industry is in fact not so free as the press. The press has its hierarchies, rests upon large investments, advertising, radio controls, and exclusive wire franchises, but it is multiple. There are thousands of newspapers in the country. There are only a handful of big movie corporations and their associates.

Moreover, most of the best (first-run) theater outlets are controlled by these few producing and distributing companies. Independent producers without distributor tie-ups get practically no financing and rarely a big-time release. The producer-distributor arrangement is convenient for banks in that it guarantees a return on loan and investment regardless of the quality of a particular film. Like all theatrical productions, motion pictures are a gamble. With producers owning their own market, a good part of the speculative losses on bad films is shifted to the public through forced distribution.

The industry's economic structure requires anticipated box-office grosses of untold millions of dollars on single films. To meet this requirement film standards are reduced to the least common denominator; and most films set before adult Americans now have been censored according to standards set for children on the one hand and the foreign markets on the other. Almost all films are produced with an eye to export. During recent years the pressure of the export market has increased as most of the neutral and United Nations world has become increasingly dependent upon the United States for its motion pictures. In war time this brings the official export censorship into play on films made primarily for the home market. And it gives the State Department an invitation to plant its policies in Hollywood, compromising our own neighborhood entertainment by the necessity of entertaining, among others, distant non-Axis fascist neighborhoods. *Film Daily* reported recently that State Department officials "have passed along some rather definite instructions on foreign affairs to Hollywood. The whole story of State Department's involvement with the making of 'For Whom the Bell Tolls' makes it quite obvious that the department simply doesn't believe in freedom of the screen when it comes to diplomatic questions. Warner Brothers, Paramount, and Twentieth Century-Fox have dropped projected films dealing with the North African situation on hints from the State Department." It is impossible to say how far this kind of thing has gone. Paramount is said to have resisted interference with Hemingway's film; but producers won't talk. If the State Department allowed free trade in cultural intercourse between the United Nations, this kind of trouble would be minimized; and if the movie corporations were less intent on reaching every kind of foreign market, there would be less ground for political interference in the field of film ideas. Mr. Mellett's proposal to review promises only to standardize such interference.

Whenever self-regulation is proposed, the industry offers the Hays Office, focal point of its monopoly, officially known as the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc. All eight of the major movie companies and three minor ones belong to it, and its jurisdiction covers production, distribution, and exhibition. Its censoring tool, the Production Code, represents with slight indirection the desires of censorial pressure

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groups, of which the Legion of Decency is the first. Through the Hays Office, a few producer-distributors and their professional censors are able to rule our whole motion-picture art. One man, Will Hays, has the power to grant or not to grant to anyone owning a motion picture the seal which the producer-distributors have agreed upon as the condition of distribution. It looks like an open-and-shut case of restraint of trade. But no independent producer seems to want to take the risk of finding out in the courts.

Hays Office censorship has been defended as a private affair of the industry, like a story conference in a studio. Yet who would not oppose the growth of a similar organization in the press? Just suppose that the national magazine-distributing organizations and the principal newsstands were controlled by a few big magazines and that they adopted the Hays code. Suppose the smaller magazines were unable to get on the principal newsstands unless they conformed to a code of Catholic morals and unless the big magazines found a spot for them that would not disturb their own marketing schedules. Obviously, the press could not tolerate this kind of self-regulation without abdicating its freedom. Why should it be tolerated in the movies?

The issue of self-regulation versus government review is further complicated by the fact that the OWI, despite limitations inherent in any, especially in an official, code maker, is much more enlightened and more moved by good-will toward men than the Hays Office. To take one example: The Hays Office has managed to ignore Negro pressure, preferring apparently the Southern white market to the Northern Negro market on a straight box-office basis. The OWI, whether influenced by man-power needs in war time or a conscious liberalism, brought about a better attitude toward Negroes, overturning the unwritten code according to which Negroes were always either funny or menial. That is a point scored for the OWI, but it would be a mistake to chalk it up for censorship.

The way to solve the problem of government review is simply to abandon it in favor of a self-regulation similar to that which governs the press—self-regulation by individual producers. The OWI can continue its normal activity in issuing war information. In order to safeguard military information, military subjects can be reviewed jointly by the OWI and the services. If the OWI thinks more control is necessary, it is torturing the notion of "war information."

The road back to a democratic screen is a longer one, involving the dissolution of the vertical monopoly over production, distribution, and exhibition, the elimination of the censorial Production Code Administration of the Hays Office, the toning down of rampant commercialism, and recognition of the fact that the movies are a cultural institution as well as an amusement enterprise.

In the Wind

THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE of the United States announces its war aims: "Everything must be conditioned upon a decisive military victory . . . the unrelenting pursuit of which should not suffer the loss of one vessel, one plane, one tank, or one bullet due to our yen for 'looking ahead.' "

EDWARD A. KOCH, one of the men under indictment for conspiracy to undermine the morale of the armed forces, is still publishing the *Guildsman*. In a recent issue he wrote, "Whatever the country's proper and legitimate objectives in war may be, we believe that the destruction of Nazism and 'fascism' generally should not be among them."

AXIS PROPAGANDISTS, ever attentive to the cultural needs of American workers, are distributing thousands of copies of poems in war plants. A typical title is "Song of the Kosher Air Wardens," and typical lines are: "You will find the Jews are ruling you in Washington's old White House," "The Gentile soldiers go marching proudly by," and "Damned if I don't think Hitler's right."

MAN-POWER NOTE: An ad in the Boston *Globe* calls for one scissors sharpener, one man with some experience in polishing small steel parts, two surgical-instrument repair men, and two men mechanically inclined to learn repairing of surgical instruments. The ad is headed in large black type, "Men Under Eighty."

LEWIS AND CONGER, New York store that makes a specialty of aids to sleep, woos labor with this sign in its window: "Constructive note to Captain Rickenbacker. Most absenteeism is not wilful—much absenteeism is due to sheer fatigue—for example . . . many night workers cannot sleep restfully during the day. Here are twenty helpful hints from our sleep shop."

DURING DEBATE on a bill to permit Georgia to tax federal enterprises that compete with private industry, State Senator Arnold said, "I don't know who drew this bill, whether it was drawn by the Georgia Power Company or not, but it is a damned good job. . . . Washington is controlled by New York Jews, as everybody knows."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A League of Nations survey shows that Germany is scrapping modern machinery and equipment not immediately adaptable to war work. . . . Norwegian clergymen and theological students who oppose the Quisling regime are being drafted for compulsory labor service. . . . Italian and German aviators stationed at Bari, Italy, have their food stored in the same building, but the Germans get more and better rations. Recently a group of Italians took some of the German food, and in the course of explaining the mistake several fliers were wounded and one killed.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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The Spread of Sinarquismo

BY FELIX DIAZ ESCOBAR

MANY people believe that with the entrance into the war of almost every Latin American country, the question of the Latin American fifth column has been resolved. My country, Mexico, offers proof that more wishful thinking lies in that assumption than reality. The Nazi-Fascist fifth column continues to work in Mexico with more intensity and vigor than it did before Pearl Harbor or before the Mexican declaration of war against the Axis. Its strongest unit, the Sinarquista movement, is numerically more powerful today than it was a year ago. The Mexican Sinarquismo is the Spanish Phalanx in *guaraches*.

As president of the Anti-Nazi, Anti-Fascist Committee in Mexico, I have been denouncing the activities of the fifth column for two years, in Parliament and in the press. From the first it was evident that there was a firmly established accord between the Nazi organization and the Sinarquista movement. Everything pointed to a liaison which fully justified our demands for the liquidation of the Sinarquismo. As long ago as January, 1942, I accused the former German consul in Guaymas of being a Nazi spy and chief of a fifth column in that section of the Pacific Coast where our fishing enterprises have been controlled by the Japanese for years. I gathered proof that that former German consul and Nazi spy enjoyed the cooperation of the Sinarquistas. I denounced the activities of one Jorge Hauss, a man of German nationality, owner of a beer-garden in Mazatlán (Sinaloa), chief of the local fifth column and a staunch friend of Sinarquista leaders in the city. I further denounced as one of the centers of the Nazi fifth column in Mexico the German news agency Transocean, which in other parts of South America was more concerned with spying and plotting than with securing information. Together with these specific accusations, in which I did not spare mention of names, I stated that the Sinarquismo was a Spanish Phalanx transplanted to Mexico.

The Sinarquista movement was launched in Mexico on May 23, 1927. Its real creator was a Nazi, Oscar Reichert, teacher of languages in the Colegio Civil of Guanajuato. He was assisted by two famous Spanish Phalangists, the brothers Trueba, who impressed the tone and character of the Franco organization upon the movement. The Sinarquista Party has the same organic structure as the Phalanx, and it has achieved the same strong military discipline. Its language is the language of a military organization, Phalangist or Nazi. When the Sinarquistas plan a demonstration, for instance, they do not call it a meeting or a rally. They call it "taking over a city." In one of their most important mobilizations last year they "took Morelia." From 35,000 to 40,000 persons aided in this "assault."

Each such big mobilization costs more than a quarter-million pesos. Where does the Sinarquismo obtain its financial support? Certainly not from its members. The Sinarquismo may have a membership of a million persons, but they are drawn from the poorest classes and are paid their traveling expenses and ten pesos in addition for their attendance at one of the mobilizations. I have my theory about the source of these funds, but since I prefer to base my statements on factual evidence, I shall leave the question open. One thing is certain—the Sinarquismo has enough money for its own development and for the acquisition of arms.

It has money, too, for a continuous propaganda campaign. In everything it prints, the Nazi and Phalangist tone is obvious. Its central organ, *El Sinarquista,* a weekly, has a circulation of 80,000, according to the editors. Whatever its actual circulation may be, it is undoubtedly widely read. It is 100 per cent anti-United Nations and 200 per cent anti-United States. It accuses those who in the interest of a democratic victory seek to make Mexico's contribution to the war effort as large as possible of being pawns of North American capitalism and of Washington. It appeals to the most primitive and confused patriotic and religious instincts of the lower classes. On one hand, it promises the Mexican people, in the event of a Nazi victory, a future in which Mexico will become greater and greater and in which the territory of Texas will be reincorporated into the Mexican state. On the other hand, it presents the Sinarquismo as the torch-bearer for "a new Christian order."

The latest development, the gravity of which seems to be ignored, is the extension of the Sinarquismo organization to the United States itself. I assert, unreservedly, that the Sinarquistas have in California today —United States California—a powerful unit of 50,000 members, well organized and looking to the Sinarquista Central Committee in Mexico for orders. I can prove my assertion. The readers of *The Nation* can judge for themselves what this extension implies. Sinarquista activities are a menace to the security of the Western Hemisphere, laying it open to attack from within prepared by the Nazis with the complicity of the Spanish Phalanx.

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Spanish Soldiers of France

BY A. D. PRINTER

[*The following article by a former legionnaire recently arrived in America exposes a situation which has had no effective publicity. At a time when the continued imprisonment of Spanish Republican refugees in North Africa is arousing the indignant protest of democrats here and abroad, the fate of the soldiers of the Legion deserves equal attention.*]

THE political prisoners in French North Africa are gradually being released. One group, however, has been neglected—the men who fought as volunteers in the French Foreign Legion and who now work in the labor battalions of the Sahara. Other groups have had a voice abroad to speak for them—the stateless Jews near Casablanca, the Spanish Loyalist civilians in the work camps, the Fighting French political prisoners, and the Communists. Many of these are reported to have been freed. But the foreign volunteers who had rushed to join the French army in September, 1939, still sweat in the African desert. These *groupes de démobilisés étrangers* are made up chiefly of Central European Jews and Spanish Loyalists. The Jews will find support in various Jewish organizations in England and in this country. The Spaniards have hardly been heard from.

When the war started, more than 100,000 foreigners living in France joined the French colors. From 30,000 to 35,000 formed the Polish army in France; 12,000 were in the Czecho-Slovakian units; between 70,000 and 73,000 men of all nationalities were taken into the Foreign Legion. Of these, 28,000, or nearly 40 per cent, were Spaniards. Nearly 53,000 of the foreign volunteers were sent to North Africa for training; later part of these were returned to France and part were sent to the three Syrian regiments. About 25,000 were kept in metropolitan France in the so-called *régiments de marche des volontaires étrangers.*

The Spaniards had volunteered for the Legion from concentration camps in southern France. They had done it willingly, eager to fight again against fascism. The Legion was not an easy place to serve in. The old legionnaires, who fought only for the pay, resented the newcomers, who fought for an ideal. Often they bullied them but never when their intended victims were Spanish soldiers who had seen as much action as they and who knew how to hit back. Even from their fellow-volunteers the Spaniards met suspicion. Most of the others, having been residents or refugees in France, spoke the language and understood the people. The only French contacts the Spaniards had had before they came to the Legion were with the Gardes Mobiles or the Senegalese in the concentration camps at Gurs and Le Vernet. In order not to be lonely, they formed "cells," which were against the spirit of the Legion and which isolated them still more.

For the officers and for the non-coms, the Spanish legionnaires were a nuisance. They did not fit in. They had been members of a popular army; now they were subjected to the ironclad discipline of a mercenary unit. They brought with them their typical Spanish individualism. They brought, too, their great sense of personal dignity, which was constantly trampled upon in these units where German sergeants and veteran French colonials had formed the outlaws of Europe into soldiers. Most of the left-wing extremists had preferred to remain in the concentration camps. Those who joined the Legion were loyal young soldiers of the Republic, professionals of the Spanish army, a few intellectuals and tradesmen. But to the officers of the Legion, brilliant young reactionaries from Saint Cyr and Saumur or old troopers without any political conviction at all, every Spaniard was either a Communist or an Anarchist, to be handled with the same affection as a box of dynamite. This attitude changed when the officers began to appreciate the soldierly qualities of the men, and later the Spaniards were chosen for the hardest tasks. These young Spanish volunteers were famous for their skill as machine-gunners and for their marching ability. They were not, as a rule, good shots with light arms, lacking the phlegm that is essential. They loved the feel of steel in their hands—their great pocket knives and the vicious four-edged bayonets of the French army.

During the short campaign of 1939-40 the Spaniards fought in all units of the Legion. They made up 15 per cent of the famous 11th Regiment that had an unequaled record during the Battle of France, losing 50 per cent of its effectives with none taken prisoner, and formed 30 per cent of the 12th, which rammed through Belgium and lost 35 per cent of its men. Large numbers of them were in the 13th Demi-Brigade, which with the Poles and the *Chasseurs Alpins* took Narvik in a wild attack, jumping into the icy waters of the fjord, storming the barren, black mountains, and pressing crack German troops back to the Swedish border. They were in the three regiments of the Levant and in the small sun-beaten force along the Tripolitanian border, mounting guard in the burning summer days of 1940, shivering with malaria, stabbing at the Italian patrols.

When the armistice was signed, Vichy did not know

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what to do with these masses of men, once volunteers for the French Republic, now ideological enemies of the new system. Hesitatingly the government started to demobilize them. Those in France were discharged normally, but for the legionnaires in Africa two conditions were laid down: they must have a French *carte d'identité*, valid at the date of enlistment, and a guaranty of a means of livelihood for at least one year, that is, either a work contract for twelve months or the sum of 5,000 francs. Few of the volunteers could meet these conditions. They had hardly any money. The Jews found it almost impossible to obtain work contracts. The identification papers of many had been burned when the German army approached the recruiting center of the Legion near Lyon. Only a very few foreigners got a legal discharge from the African regiments.

When the German Armistice Commission came to North Africa, the French were forced to reduce the effectives of their garrisons. Thousands of legionnaires were ostensibly discharged but were in reality formed into new military units and sent to the southern part of Algeria and Morocco to work on roads and on the trans-Saharan railway. The men had all the disadvantages of being soldiers and none of the advantages. They wore soldiers' uniforms, but they were treated as if they were men condemned to hard labor. They worked from eight to ten hours a day in heat that at noon would rise to 140°. Until the spring of 1941 their pay was only half a franc a day, half a cent as the franc was then valued against the dollar—about a fifth of what they had to pay for a package of cigarettes. They slept in tattered tents that offered little protection against sand storms or rain. Seventeen men shared a tent built for ten. Their clothes swarmed with lice, and boils spread from one to another as they lay crowded together on their rags. In most of the camps water was scarce—hardly enough for drinking and cooking. The men didn't wash for weeks. There was not enough food. The men killed and ate everything alive around them, from dogs to lizards, from stray donkeys to the rare gazelles they could catch. They dug holes in the roads so that camels coming from the South with the date caravans would break their legs in the traps and the beasts could then be bought from the Arabs for their almost worthless meat.

There were revolts. Everybody, overseers and men, became desperate and slightly crazy after a while. The famous *cafard* rode the camps. In some units the officers were so terrified that they asked for *Goums*, Arab guards, to watch their tents at night, and hardly dared move among the men without arms. The ironical part was that the men were not prisoners but apparently just soldiers. There was no barbed wire around the camps. But there were hundreds and hundreds of miles of sand, of hot, burning death, around them to prevent escape. There were the *Goums* too, patrolling the desert on swift mounts, ruthless hunters of possible deserters.

In the spring of 1941 the Vichy government sent thirty new men to the camps of Colomb Bechar and Kenadza. They pretended to be deserters from the German army and navy in France. These men were met from the very beginning with distrust and were later found to be a fifth column planted in the camps by order of the Armistice Commission. The affair caused a great uproar. For the first time the *travailleurs*, mostly Jews and Spanish Loyalists, dared to act. As a result the "deserters" were combed out and transported to an oasis farther south. There they later started a little revolt of their own and finally asked to be brought before the Armistice Commission—very peculiar behavior for soldiers who were supposed to have committed the greatest military crime.

In the general breakdown of morale the Spaniards were in by far the worst situation. They had no families, they received no letters, no outside organization took care of them, and many of them were in constant danger of being put in the *compagnie de discipline des travailleurs*, a parallel institution to the famous *discipline* of Colomb Bechar. Into the *discipline des travailleurs* came not only the men who broke the rules or worked too slowly but also those who were simply suspected of being opposed to the spirit of Vichy. Into the *discipline* came also the men who had been guilty of serving in the International Brigades of Spain. That they had later volunteered and fought for France had not washed them clean. After this *compagnie de discipline* was formed, it was sent to Khersas, a lost oasis deep in the south which soon became a Devil's Island of the Sahara, viciously ruled by Corsican and German sergeants. Here the men did not even have tents. They had to scrape holes in the sand to sleep in, the famous *tombeaux* of the Legion, just long enough for a man to stretch out in. They had no shelter from the pitiless sun during the siesta hours of the day and no protection from the bitter cold of the desert nights. In the evening after work was finished they were not allowed to talk together or to play cards. They had to hand over their sandals to the *Goums* before nightfall lest somebody be crazy enough to run out into the desert.

Anyone who passed through this company came out a broken man. Even in the regular working companies nearly everybody became affected after a time—nearly everybody except the Spaniards. They built up a very intelligent collective self-defense. Like everybody else, they grabbed and stole whatever they could get outside the camps, but they shared their booty with all. They fought anybody who attacked their rights, superiors or fellow-soldiers, but they never quarreled among themselves. They were the only ones in the camps who found the strength to sing and to joke, and if once in a while they found enough wine, they showed the rest of the men the noble art of getting drunk in a decent and quiet way.

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When I left Africa in December, 1941, four companies were at work around Colomb Bechar, each containing from 200 to 300 men. About a third of these men were Spaniards. The four companies all belonged to the 1st Regiment of the Foreign Legion in Algeria. Two more companies of the same regiment were farther north in Ain Sefra and Saïda. Across the Moroccan border the labor units of the three Moroccan regiments worked under similar conditions. Besides these men in uniform, thousands of Spanish civilians worked on the trans-Saharan railway and in the coal mines of Kenadza. They were paid, but their pay was outrageously small.

Today the foreign volunteers are in a paradoxical situation. They were formally discharged in October, 1940. But at the beginning of the war they had signed a contract for the duration. Now the war has started anew in Africa, and according to the regulations of the French army they are *rémobilisables*—subject to be called from the reserves for new service. It is doubtful, however, whether they will be allowed to leave the camps of the south. A general has the right to decide how he will use a soldier, whether as a fighter or a worker on a military project.

These men are good soldiers by any standard; they are especially well trained for African warfare; they are, besides, soldiers who fought and are still fighting for an idea. And with Spanish stubbornness they will stick to their convictions. It is to be hoped that impending changes in Africa will allow these veterans of the war for democracy to take their place again in the ranks of the Allies and to exchange the pickax, which was forced into their hands, for the gun which they once chose.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

ONE of the biggest hotels in the German capital, known to everybody who has ever been in Berlin, is the Hotel Bristol. In the summer of 1940 this hotel wrote a letter to a Mr. X in Switzerland. That was quite a while ago, but the letter is still interesting, and we can be grateful to the Swiss cousin of this journal, the Zurich *Nation*, for publishing it now. Dated July 26, 1940, it runs as follows:

> *My dear Mr. X:* In reply to your letter we shall be glad to reserve for you for about ten days starting August 28 a room facing Unter den Linden. The price for one of our regular guests is twenty-five marks.
>
> At the same time we want to bring to your attention the fact that we are swamped by requests from our regular guests, of whom we have about 4,000, for rooms facing Unter den Linden, since it is the general opinion here in Germany that the war will end soon.
>
> We have advised all those to whom we could promise rooms on Unter den Linden that during the parade of the returning troops they will have to permit access to their room to four or five other regular guests who have had to take rooms facing the rear. We must attach this condition also to your reservation in the event that the entry of the returning troops should occur during your visit. On other days you will be undisturbed.
>
> (*Signed*) DR. BOLLBUCK, Manager

This was not written by some excited little employee, but by the head of a great establishment with an international clientèle. The thoroughness with which this German was beginning so early to "organize" the allotment of rooms and windows for the day of triumph is in itself interesting. One's first thought, however, is how crushing the disappointment must have been and how severe the shock caused by it.

During the last few days there has been a tremendous amount of advertising in Germany for a new wage system. It is called a system of "efficiency wages" or of "plus and minus wages." Admittedly the purpose of the new wage scale is to "increase the per capita production of workers," but that has not prevented the authorities from decking it out with all sorts of social and metaphysical halos. It was first introduced at the beginning of March in the metal industry of Lower Silesia. A Breslau iron works inaugurated it with ceremonies and speeches. The *Gauleiter* and the commissar, according to the *Angriff's* report of March 6, gave it fulsome praise. For the first time in history, they declared, a truly progressive, honorable, and noble wage system had been discovered. "We thus show that our estimation of the worth of labor is worlds apart from that of the Bolshevik slave-drivers and the Jewish-plutocratic exploiters."

The joke is that the new system is nothing more than an adaptation of the Stakhanov speed-up, which for some years received similar feverish publicity in Russia and then was unceremoniously abandoned. Its derivation is quite clear where piecework is concerned. The underlying principle is that not all workers are paid according to the same wage scale; there are plus rates and minus rates. For example, if workers making screws formerly

REMEMBER!

"When we achieved and the new world dawned, the old men came out again and took our victory to remake in the likeness of the former world they knew. Youth could win but had not learned to keep, and was pitifully weak against age. We stammered that we had worked for a new heaven and a new earth. They thanked us kindly and made their peace."—LAWRENCE OF ARABIA in the "Seven Pillars of Wisdom."

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received ten pfennigs a screw, those making less than one hundred screws an hour are now paid eight pfennigs a piece, and those making more than one hundred an hour twelve pfennigs. In short, the fast worker earns more than the slow not only because he produces more but also because he is paid at a higher rate. When wages are on an hourly basis, workers are no longer divided into the traditional three classes of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled but are graded in eight groups.

The purpose is not, of course, to reduce the pay roll. On the contrary, if production were really increased, the Nazis would presumably be quite undisturbed by the cost. In their frantic efforts to profit from "total mobilization" money is of no concern to them; they are interested only in output. The labor movements of all countries, however, have always considered such excessive differences between the earnings of capable and less capable workers the crassest form of exploitation and have always opposed them. In its effect on total production Russian Stakhanovism was proved unsatisfactory. Whether the same system under the name of plus-minus wages will be more effective in Germany is very questionable.

File and Remember

The Axis Interprets Churchill

A LONDON broadcast beamed on Europe and recorded at the CBS short-wave listening station called attention to the following comments on Winston Churchill's speech taken from the official German News Agency and German radio:

1. "As far as Britain is concerned, Churchill suggests the adoption of National Socialist ideas."
2. "Churchill is cooperating with Bolshevism."
3. "The Prime Minister remains a tool in the hands of orthodox capitalist finance."

The Rome radio said:

We wonder whether Mr. Churchill knew when he made his last speech that he was simply copying outright every law which the Fascist government has put into effect during the past twenty-four years. Idea after idea was lifted from the steps which have been taken in Italy. He could not have followed more closely the line laid down by the Fascist government for the reorganization of Italy after Versailles. We are proud to think that Mr. Churchill considered the Fascist government the one most suitable to follow, and we are sure that he chose well, if he really wants to further the welfare of the British people.

Radio Berlin said:

Two statesmen spoke in the same afternoon; one, a man of the people, elected by the people to his executive office. His name is Adolf Hitler. The other, a scion of a family described for generations by the term plutocratic. His name—need I add—is Winston Churchill. The first of these two statesmen delivered his speech within somewhat less than one-quarter of an hour. He could afford a brief crystallization of the pan-European ideology. His theme needed no elaboration. It was just victory, victory over the enemies of our civilization, which was cradled in the beginning of the Christian era. The other man, that scowling, desperate despot of Downing Street, floundered bravely for the better part of an hour through the exposition of his reactionary program. Adolf Hitler, having delivered for the fourth consecutive year his hymn of praise for the unconquerable heroism of the German armed forces, sketched in graphic terms the grand dimensions of the Bolshevik preparation for world conquest. The climax of his speech was contained in the following words, words which will be remembered when this terrible intercontinental war has become a dry text for adolescent history students. "I repeat," said Adolf Hitler, "I repeat my former prophecy—namely, that it will not be Germany and Europe but those countries which remain servile to the Jews which will perish in this conflict; those lands which remain out of key with the new social order will pay the toll."

Et Tu, Brute?

The British Foreign Minister thought it well to smooth down the Bolsheviks by conceding them the command of Eastern Europe, at the cost of sacrificing the countries that Britain had sworn to protect.—*Rome broadcast to North America.*

American opinion will not look favorably on any proposal to put the small nations of Europe on the auction block in order to purchase Russian confidence and cooperation.—*New York Times.*

It is quite possible that in attempting to abolish the Atlantic Charter in its application to Europe Mr. Eden imagines that he may obtain a pledge that the Bolsheviks, should they be victorious, would refrain from annexing the Middle East and India. It is childish to believe, of course, that the Kremlin would honor any such promises, under the circumstances. Everybody capable of looking facts in the face will agree that the ambitions of the Soviets are bounded solely by the limits of military possibilities.—*Radio Berlin.*

Nor would the appeasement of Russia be more successful than the attempt to appease Hitler. On the contrary, appeasement at the surrender of principle would only whet the appetite of the appeased.—*New York Times.*

One has no longer a choice between the old Europe and a Europe newly ordered by the Axis powers, but only between this Europe and one which is subject to the dictatorship of Bolshevism.—*Goebbels.*

The Europeans are tired of both of them [Nazis and Communists]. But if they are forced to choose they may choose Hitler rather than Stalin.—*New York Times.*

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Adventures of Monkey

MONKEY. By Wu Ch'êng-ên. Translated from the Chinese by Arthur Waley. The John Day Company. $2.75.

VERGIL guided Dante only through hell and purgatory, but even if he had been permitted to continue his exemplary way into paradise, he would still have fallen short of the Great Sage, Equal of Heaven. For the Sage—that's the Monkey—is not only a guide, at home in all three theaters of being, but the comedian as well, and is therefore, without disparagement of Vergil, a far more critical observer. Monkey also writes poetry. In short, his qualities can be multiplied by three in terms of all conceivable attributes, energies, and experiences—simian, human, immortal—up to eighty-one, which happens to be the exact number of calamities Monkey has to undergo to bring his master from China to India to seek the holy Buddhist scriptures, and gain Illumination for himself.

Monkey was created by centuries of enchanted listeners who, in the tenth century or earlier, gathered around professional story-tellers to hear of his supernatural monkey-shines. The form and content of the story were dictated largely by the audience. And in this first English translation, made from a sixteenth-century version written, significantly enough, in the vernacular, not in the classical language which the people did not understand, there are echoes of this primitive exchange between story-teller and audience. There is nothing quite like "Monkey" in Western literature. Imagine a combination of picaresque novel, fairy tale, fabliau, Mickey Mouse, Davy Crockett, and "Pilgrim's Progress"; and then imagine, if you can, all these elements welded into an artistic whole so that no matter how fantastic the adventure or how enigmatic the allegory, the characterization and meaning remain always human and realistic.

Here is a bit from the twenty-eighth chapter, where the priest and master, Tripitaka, and his three disciples—Monkey, Pigsy, and Sandy—are ferried across the River of Salvation in a bottomless boat. Suddenly they notice the priest's earthly body rapidly drifting downstream

> Tripitaka stared at it in consternation. Monkey laughed. "Don't be frightened, Master," he said. "That's you." And Pigsy said, "It's you, it's you." Sandy clapped his hands. "It's you, it's you," he cried. The ferryman too joined in the chorus. "There *you* go!" he cried. "My best congratulations."

There is a good deal of heartwarming satire directed against bureaucracy, which reigns in heaven as it does on earth. I liked particularly the story of the emperor who dies but is permitted to return to life because his minister gives him a letter of introduction to one of the judges of the dead, who in the nature of things is under certain obligations to the minister. "It only remains," says the judge, "to ask Your Majesty to step down and forgive us the inconvenience to which you have been put." The picture of Monkey jockeying for position in heaven is hilarious; the trials of the celestial dollar-a-year men are touching; and there is one episode that is reminiscent of Mr. Willkie in Russia. And that's not all. There are magical transformations, battles with dragons, the very amusing story of the Cart-Slow Kingdom, and much more, told with enormous gusto. It is one of the most entertaining fairy tales I have ever read; the proof of the entertainment is the real excitement of the adventures.

Mr. Waley has accomplished a magical transformation of his own in his translation. One has learned to expect such performances from Mr. Waley. (The test of a translation is a simple sentence like this: "At the fourth watch she had had a dream, half of which she could remember and half of which had faded; and she was thinking hard.") He has, however, translated only thirty of the hundred chapters, and one would be a fool not to clamor for the rest. An interesting introduction has been contributed to the American edition by Mr. Hu Shih.

H. P. LAZARUS

Russia, Reform, and Revolution

AMERICA, RUSSIA, AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE POST-WAR WORLD. By John L. Childs, George S. Counts, and Others. The John Day Company. $1.25.

A SENSITIVE ear will detect much subdued whistling in the dark these nights, and the theme of the whistling is the Soviet Union. British conservatives are moving toward post-war collaboration with the U. S. S. R., but being a little nervous of their great ally they are also looking hopefully toward the United States. Mr. Eden, sponsor of the only important treaty obligation so far contracted during this war, assures the United States that an alliance is not a bloc, or not an exclusive bloc. Mr. Churchill makes a speech which can be best described by saying that its social doctrines encouraged Arthur Krock, whose political soul is as unlovely as a Brahms violin cadenza. That speech had for one of its intentions assurance to the United States that the Anglo-Russian treaty does not mean that Britain will become socialist. The Soviets, reform, and revolution, are in everyone's mind these days and nights. It is therefore good to find someone who, like G. D. H. Cole in a book recently reviewed in *The Nation*, will speak out loud about the most important of all problems.

"America, Russia, and the Communist Party" because of its frankness and intransigence is a book that every *Nation* reader should read at least twice. It is brutally frank and thoroughly sophisticated. It is not confused, for it is written from one standpoint only, that of the reforming democrat. There is nothing revolutionary or pseudo-revolutionary about it, and there is very little admixture of modes of thought alien to the main body of its thinking. It has two defects: it is occasionally repetitious; and its conclusion concerning the Communist Party is false.

The authors' thesis is that if the Soviet Union desires

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peace with the world after this war it must totally repudiate the Communist International. By "repudiate" is clearly meant not plain divorce with or without alimony, but the headsman's block (a figure of speech, of course). Rather inconsistently the originators of this modest proposal do not wish the United States to suppress the American Communist Party. The authors leave no doubt of the sincerity of their demand for a square deal for the U. S. S. R., but there is, I fear, something almost menacing in the words which they employ. "This logic of fact confronts the Soviet Union in these days with a necessary and fateful choice. *She* [my italics] must decide whether she wants peace or war." In other words, the democracies are likely to attack the Soviet Union if the Comintern survives in the post-war period. Very clearly the authors dislike the Communist Party, but the U. S. S. R. is not likely to be intimidated by their threat.

There is nothing erratic about the book's main premises concerning the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. The authors do not make Louis Fischer's mistake of thinking that Russia will be an exhausted power at the end of the war. On the contrary, they believe that the only two great world powers will be this country and Russia. Nor do they agree with Alexander Werth, Max Lerner, and the others that the U. S. S. R. has ceased to be a revolutionary power. They grasp the truth that the Communist Party is nowadays a party of mingled and often conflicting objectives. They recognize, too, that much of the party's disturbing effect as well as its self-frustration derives from its dual nature as a revolutionary party and at the same time a propaganda department of the Soviet Foreign Office, which cannot at all times practice a revolutionary diplomacy. Most of what Messrs. Childs and Counts say of the party methods is true enough, though they can be guilty of colossal exaggeration, as when they write, "Experience has demonstrated that it [the Communist Party] adds not one ounce of strength to any liberal, democratic, or humane cause; on the contrary, it weakens, degrades, or destroys every cause that it touches." The Spanish Loyalist cause was a humane, democratic, and liberal cause, and it was never degraded. And let it be said clearly that in this country the organizing drive, the constancy, the cement and bond in the whole pro-Loyalist movement was provided by the Communists and those who were ready to work with them.

But putting aside all passing objections, it is the central thought of this book which is wrong. It was not the Comintern but the Soviets' social structure itself which caused Russia to be feared and hated by the reactionaries. And together with this fear they had another, equally strong—the fear of any change whatsoever, whether reformist or revolutionary. The solid inescapable fact is that the tories were afraid of the all too possible collapse of the entire structure of Western capitalism. The authors recognize this when they declare that the threat of communism will not be removed until unnecessary and unjust conditions are removed from American society. The truth could not be better expressed than it is on page 46. A certain school of thought "holds that we have nothing in common with the Soviet Union but a common foe . . . and that in the course of time [the two countries] will necessarily engage in a bitter and violent struggle. . . . Unfortunately, evidence is accumulating that this thought is entertained by powerful forces in the United States *which fear any modification of property relationships and are made uneasy by the possible existence of a powerful and successful collectivist state in the world*" (my italics). The fact is that Moscow might fire every man jack of the Comintern right now, but when the European revolution breaks out, as it will, that will not prevent the tories from demanding war with the U. S. S. R. And let this be understood: these reactionaries would have a far greater fear of the example set by a peaceful and prosperous U. S. S. R. even without the Comintern than they have had in the past.

Not only are the authors mistaken; their mistake is a dangerous one. To pose the problem of future collaboration in this way is to give the reactionaries their opportunity should the Soviets continue to support the Communist parties. The Soviets will probably make mistakes, and the Communist parties of the world will almost certainly blunder off the track from time to time, but to demand the repudiation of these parties by Moscow is, I believe, to do no more than carry on a personal political feud. There is a crisis in socialism, a profound crisis, but to ask the champion of one powerful school, the most powerful as it happens, to commit suicide to please a group of liberals is, when not dangerous, quite farcical. Another thing must be put as clearly as this. Messrs. Counts and Childs are not threatening the U. S. S. R. with *their* displeasures but with the might of stark reaction. It is not a pleasant spectacle. This reviewer in approaching the same problem came to quite opposite conclusions—that it was high time, for Europe at least, to rebuild the united front. This may seem to imply a total rejection of the present book, but that is not so. Above all, frankness and sincerity are needed these days, and the authors have these qualities in abundance.

RALPH BATES

"This Grace Is Dignity"

LAST POEMS OF ELINOR WYLIE. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

THIS collection of last poems by Elinor Wylie contains more substance, form, and freshness, less rubble and detritus, than is usually found in posthumous books. Fifteen years dead, Elinor Wylie was spared, by the greater humiliation, the lesser ones that have been visited on some of her contemporaries—the ignominious silence, the ignoble shrillness, the self-repetition, the false starts, the desire for growth, and the anxiety about the capacity to grow, the recognition of more vulgar claims. How much she might have grown is idle speculation now; there is a difference, to be sure, between her earlier and her later and her very latest work, but the later is not always the happier.

The point here is that when the impulse of the baroque is spent, its impetus can still carry over into the delicacy, the grace, the charm, of the rococo; and the rococo can still convey emotion. But the rococo is a dead end; persist too long in that direction, and you find yourself going around in circles. The embellishment of the shard becomes more important than that of the shell; the twisted curves of the system of design are scribbled in sand, not etched in stone;

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the gaiety and playfulness grow self-conscious and arch; and the end is jigsaw, gingerbread, tedium. Once devoted to the rococo, the artist can break its spell only by shattering himself: what is required is a clean break, a fresh start, a new confronting, however painful and terrified, yet humble and thankful, of reality. The risk of this necessity Miss Wylie's integrity could not have long postponed. She might have shirked it for a while, because, like everybody else, she had her peculiar foolishness; and rather more than most, she might have been spoiled by adulation. Against these risks her besetting sin was her saving virtue, that fierce fine pride.

The gratitude of the public is due Miss Jane Wise, and her assistants, for the valuable service of deciphering holograph manuscripts of many poems; and the publisher, by way of illustration, has reproduced eight pages of these. The book also contains a foreword by William Rose Benét and a tribute by Edith Olivier. The omission of this material, in my opinion, would not have been fatal: Mr. Benét offers a combination of apology and interpretation that will not endear him to the reader who would prefer to be left alone with the poet's work; and the taste of this reviewer, whether capricious or perverse, is offended to find the author of an Ode against Public Spirit made the subject of remarks, however prescient, about England and America and our common cause. There are also notes, dating, with some comment, all of the poems but one; these will be more enjoyed by scholars and bibliophiles than by those lovers of literature who do not care whether a poem was written early or late, or where it first saw print, so they have the poem.

The poems are presented in four groups, the first comprising new poems and sonnets, all transcribed from holograph manuscripts by Miss Wise. Item, "I saw Milton stand alone"—

> I saw Milton stand alone
> Save for great Lord Verulam,
> Bearing the philosopher's stone.
> And the Pentecostal lamb
> Was at Milton's side, his fleece
> Bright as Jason's out of Greece.
>
> Against them came a host
> Shelley stricken to the heart
> White like St. Sebastian's ghost
> And taking still the weaker part
> For her who quenched his keenest fires
> And flung him headlong from her spires.

The second section contains a single long poem, The Golden Heifer, likewise transcribed by Miss Wise from a holograph MS. This is an extravagant excursion in the meter of Peregrine; the Peregrine thing was a good stunt once, but cannot sustain too much repetition, and the reader's delight in the lovely and gorgeous passages in The Golden Heifer is somewhat diminished if, as he reads along, he begins to have hallucinations of ladies' voices in the air around murmuring, "My dear! She can rhyme on *anything!*"

The poems in the third section have not been previously printed; these are, all save one, taken from typescripts, some early, some late. Item, With a Blue Honey-Jar Full of Flowers—

> Here, within this honey-jar
> Rose and honeysuckle are;
> Keep it so, a turquoise shell
> Of sweetness like a honey-cell;
> Keep it so it may not miss
> The richer brew, being filled with this,
> Fresher and more exquisite
> Than wine the bees distil from it.

The fourth section of the book has poems previously printed in periodicals, etc.; and Mr. Benét, in his foreword, also directs the attention of the reader to a few other poems, not included in Miss Wylie's collected verse, which appeared in the memorial volume written by her sister, Nancy Hoyt. From this section we might quote, as a final item, the sonnet written on the flyleaf of John Webster's plays—

> Having so long walked hand in hand with Hell
> I find these gentry little less than kin;
> I speak their sulphurous language; we begin
> Straightway to cap each other's jests, and tell
> Fantastical adventures which befell
> At midnight, some eccentric court within—
> Where fiery anger plotted with pale sin—
> Crime's sanctuary, murder's citadel.
>
> Fouler the cruelties which desecrate
> These later days, to poison heart and mind,
> And strangle, with the bloody hand of Hate,
> The thrice-stabbed soul; from such I turn to find
> The black Calabrian comrade in my fate,
> And Corombona, as a sister, kind.

It is good to hear this voice again, not only because it is familiar, but because even when it is being fantastical or fancy, it is always firm and fine. Apprehensive, yes, but gloomy never; amused, amusing, ironical, exquisite, precise, and proud. It is good to hear this voice again.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Pieces of Empire

RETREAT WITH STILWELL. By Jack Belden. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

SINGAPORE IS SILENT. By George Weller. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

JACK BELDEN saw the fall of an empire, or at least a piece of an empire, and it fascinated him just as the same phenomenon, spread over centuries, fascinated Edward Gibbon. In this case the crumbling and crashing of a civilization was compressed into a matter of weeks, and Belden saw it with his own eyes in Burma and at the frequent risk of his own life. The spectacle was incredibly gaudy.

Mandalay, the city of ancient Burmese kings, was a peaceful and elegant seat of British Oriental power one lovely April morning, and then came Japanese bombers. By mid-afternoon it was a roaring crematory. The British masters were helpless; a colonel whom Mr. Belden tried to interview that evening said, "I haven't got the time now, and besides I'm drunk." Burmese looters and fifth-columnists took over; their torches kept Mandalay burning for twenty-seven days and nights.

Burma was just a far-off piece of empire in that spring of 1942; too late London and Washington realized that it was the last land link with their most precious Far Eastern ally, China. Chiang Kai-shek realized it at the time and

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offered to send troops. For two months Britain said no, thanks. When Rangoon was burning, Chinese troops finally were admitted to help save Burma. The American General Stilwell commanded them, and Jack Belden, a Brooklyn boy who had learned Chinese, went along as a correspondent. By then it was too late. So Mr. Belden's tale is one of defeat, retreat, disaster. The theme of mounting doom gives a grim unity to his story, and his way of telling it makes his book one of the most exciting of the newspapermen's chronicles of the war.

George Weller, correspondent for the Chicago *Daily News*, saw another nearby piece of British Empire fall. He was in Singapore and the Malay Peninsula, and the story was much the same there. But Mr. Weller did not picture it as the collapse of empire. He noted many facts, in a conscientious way, and has tossed them all together in a heap. Some of the military details he saw more clearly than Mr. Belden; his account of the Japanese genius for jungle fighting is the best that has appeared. Mr. Weller analyzed the Japanese technique of filtering around behind the British and panicking them—if necessary, with mere firecrackers. Mr. Belden, who was caught in one of those rear road-block maneuvers, is vivid about the terror of it but sketchy about the mechanics.

On two things both authors agree. First, the British commanders were habitually and chronically on the defensive, and if any young military upstart suggested striking at the enemy first, he was icily put in his place. Second, the British officers in both Malaya and Burma were still fighting fuzzy-wuzzies by time-honored methods, not grasping the fact that the Japanese were a new sort of fuzzy-wuzzy.

Mr. Belden gives some appalling examples of the military stupor engendered by decades of complacent superiority over the natives. The British heroically blew up the Sittang River bridge in Burma, thinking to stop the Japanese. It developed that the Japanese were able to cross the river anyway, but the British troops trapped on the wrong side were not.

Mr. Belden keeps probing for the causes of the imperial crumbling. He noticed that the Japanese made a big play with political propaganda. They constantly urged the Burmese to rise and throw off their oppressors. This went well, because the unimaginative Burmese could not picture an oppressor worse than the one they had. The Chinese were smart enough to bring along a political department in an effort to counteract that propaganda, but they never had time to get it working. The British roused themselves to the point of putting up posters telling the Burmese: "Maintain order!"

Of course the British were under the heavy handicap of waging a war for freedom in behalf of a race they held in subjugation. This was awkard not only from a moral standpoint but also from a practical one. A British general who was surrounded with his forces sadly told Mr. Belden that he never knew where the Japanese were but they always seemed to know where he was. Apparently the Burmese were supplying information to the Japanese but not to the British.

In addition to educating the natives, the British might well have paid more attention to the political enlightenment of their own troops. The polyglot armies of Irish and Australians, Scotch and Ghurkas seem to have fought not so

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much for the empire as for the sake of upholding the reputations of their own regiments. When things got too bad, individual soldiers developed an understandable cynicism and were willing to cede the whole blankety-blank country (Malaya or Burma) to whosoever was such a blankety-blank fool as to want it.

Only the last third of "Retreat with Stilwell" deals with the march over the mountains from Burma to India by General Stilwell and his band of 115 assorted persons—British Quakers, Burmese nurses, a handful of Chinese, and a scattering of American and English soldiers. This saga deserves a fuller treatment. General Stilwell appears to have been a competent, courageous American military product who succeeded in getting over the mountains on foot. Thousands of other less distinguished persons accomplished the same feat, among them many of General Stilwell's Chinese troops, without the aid of their general. Jack Belden implies that General Stilwell was a hero, which he may have been, but we do not get enough details about his character to form a judgment.

MARCUS DUFFIELD

Miss Lucy Ludwell

JOHN PARADISE AND LUCY LUDWELL OF LONDON AND WILLIAMSBURG. By Archibald Bolling Shepperson. The Dietz Press. $4.

THOUGH a graduate of Oxford and a member of both the Royal Society and Dr. Johnson's Essex Head Club, John Paradise never wrote a book, or held an office, or had a profession, or even kept a journal. He did nothing at all to make him the subject of a biography exactly two hundred years after his birth except to marry Miss Lucy Ludwell of Virginia. That young lady, besides being a beauty and an heiress, possessed many traits of character which, even in the eighteenth century, apparently marked the behavior of the Southern belle among strangers. She was vain, ignorant, arrogant, scatter-brained, and unshakably convinced that everyone she met should be as interested as herself in her own family. The persistence with which she bent the ears of Dr. Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the other literary and artistic friends of her husband in London with tales about the Ludwells drove Paradise close to distraction. Her extravagances sank him deeper and deeper into debt.

A simple solution of the problem would have been for Mr. Paradise to take his wife back where she came from, declare himself an American citizen, and take title to her share of the vast Ludwell holdings He would have done so in the first year of his marriage except that he was terrified of thunder, and from the papers that had been read before the Royal Society since Benjamin Franklin had become a member, got the impression that America was in the perpetual throes of cataclysmic electrical storms. For eighteen years, during which they frantically sought—but seldom followed—the advice of every prominent American they met or were related to, the Paradises prepared for and then postponed their voyage. And then when they actually made it, they were worse off than before. After a triumphal social tour of the great plantations, which ended at Mount Vernon, they quit Virginia abruptly without settling any of their problems. After this they flitted between Paris, where they now got money as well as advice from the hard-pressed Jefferson, and Italy and London. There Paradise died in 1795, sunk deep in alcoholism and melancholia. Ten years later his widow, on borrowed money but with all her airs and finery, returned to queen it over a Williamsburg that had already become the sleepy village it remained until the Rockefellers restored it. She died there in 1814, but not in the now familiar Paradise House; her last two years were spent in the public asylum for the insane.

Patient scholarly research has seldom brought to light a couple so aptly fitted for the leading figures in a costume farce. How two such zanies got themselves intimately entangled with the great literary figures of eighteenth-century London and the great political figures of America makes their story. One wonders how Jefferson, Franklin, Wythe, Jay, the Adamses, and the Lees could spare the time from trying to straighten out the Paradises to get on with the business of founding this nation.

GRACE ADAMS

The Negro and "His Place"

PATTERNS OF NEGRO SEGREGATION. By Charles S. Johnson. Harper and Brothers. $3.50.

THIS book is the second volume in the study of the Negro in the United States which was carried on under the direction of a Swedish social economist and sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation. As stated in the foreword by the Editorial Committee, although the facts of Negro segregation are well known, the special contribution of this book is that it shows the great "variations in customary interracial practices" which are designed to keep the Negro in "his place."

In the ten chapters composing the first part of the book, the patterns of segregation are traced from the spatial and institutional segregation of the Negro in various parts of the country to the ideological justifications which are used to support certain beliefs and attitudes regarding the place of the Negro in our society. The areas covered by the survey include a county in each of three Southern states, a city in each of five Southern states, Baltimore and Indianapolis, which are classified as border cities, and two Northern cities —Chicago and New York. The author's analysis shows that in border states, where there are no laws concerning the segregation of the races, custom and tradition have been as effective as legal codes; whereas in the North laws against discrimination have not nullified customary practices. This section of the book contains a chapter on occupational discrimination against the Negro during the present national emergency. A chapter on the ideology of the color line based largely on evidence which field workers secured through interviewing persons in the areas mentioned above shows that Southerners still hold to their traditional ideas about the color line and that these ideas have been diffused to some extent among Northerners.

Although the facts of segregation are well known, Americans generally are not so well acquainted with the reactions of Negroes to discrimination. The second part of the book discusses the techniques which they use toward segregation

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and its effects on their personalities. Many of the facts presented in this section were revealed in the studies of Negro youth sponsored by the American Youth Commission, though the author has included additional data on the reactions of adult Negroes. The three chief techniques of reaction, according to his analysis, are acceptance of the situation, avoidance, and hostility and aggression. Unfortunately, we are not informed concerning the prevalence of these techniques among Negroes or whether one is increasing or displacing the others.

Since the author undertook only to delineate the forms of Negro segregation, perhaps he should not be criticized for giving a static description of race relations. However, since his book is part of a study which aims to throw new light on the Negro problem, one might expect more than a descriptive—in some places it is scarcely more than reportorial—account of the present situation. Only in the first and last chapters does the author attempt, and then in a sketchy and generalized fashion, an analysis of the dynamic forces in American life which are constantly affecting the patterns of race relations. Political factors are almost entirely ignored, though at the present time the changing character of our political structure is having an important influence. Moreover, one would like to know how the growth of large impersonal corporations and technological changes are affecting the traditional relations of the two races. A thoroughgoing sociological analysis of the patterns of Negro segregation must take into account the influence of such factors.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Cross-Purposes

NEW DIRECTIONS, 1942. Number Seven. Edited by James Laughlin. New Directions. $3.50.

DESPITE their flaws and occasional absurdities of selection, Mr. Laughlin's annuals have been invaluable as barometers of the advance guard in imaginative writing. The latest, as is to be expected, indicates deep depressions moving east and west from the war zones. Foreign sources yield far less than usual—a drop of Kafka, some of Jouve—and the excitement level of American writing is also down. Of this year's four debuts, two are real: one from New York, the poet Marcia Nardi, and one from Boston, a poet-dramatist who calls himself Louis Second. The other two, from Illinois and Kansas, are duds. I hope this doesn't indicate a culture shift. The most distinguished writing in the book is by relatively well-established names: William Carlos Williams, Alvin Levin, Paul Goodman, Richard Eberhart. The rest is largely without style, featureless from the will to shine. But one should be grateful for what does emerge. Collections like this are among the sparse evidence that literature is not being completely displaced by journalism.

Mr. Laughlin's foreword betrays one of the reasons why so much tripe makes his grade: he lets it in as satire. Writers, he declares, have got to keep hammering at the falsities of the present order so as to increase the chances of a real people's revolution against the "shiny and delusive world imperialism" he suspects is in the offing. But this commendable wish need not make one hear a hammer-blow in a pinprick. In his

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case I fear it has. Hence we are again exposed to reams of George Mann's interminable pseudo-satire, "Straws in the Wind." Having disposed of the Stalinists last year, Mann now polishes off the neo-Thomists; and we are promised that in future issues he will annihilate the "gentlemanly scholars" and the "sociologists." *Vae victis!* But even for this task it is not enough to set up a single lay figure and knock him down again and again by incidents designed to mock the trend he stands for. Such *simplisme* inevitably drives the reader from amusement to irritation to boredom. A good satirist is a good puppeteer: his grotesque world has its own logic: when Punch falls down, it is because the policeman pushes him. Mann won't let the policeman have his way, but bops Punch with a great big human hand, to show he's dead and no mistake. Even less effective, because less witty, are two others to whom Laughlin attributes "satiric flair," Eve Merriam and John Edward Hart, the debutant Kansan. Each has several poems—Miss Merriam, a story too—on the iniquity of war. Miss Merriam seems subtler, having absorbed many tricks from today's vogues in poetry, but she is really only highbrow-maudlin where Hart is lowbrow-maudlin. There are also several yards of material in mock-Biblical style by Robert Clairmont, apparently intended to satirize the entire modern world: entertaining by fits and starts, but footling on the whole.

To have anything like the effect Mr. Laughlin desires, satire must be written at white heat of anger with a skill that makes it coldly terrible, eliciting the bitter mirth of self-recognition, not the facile chuckle of superiority. Besides, as Wyndham Lewis pointed out in "Men Without Art," most good writing since the Industrial Revolution has been satire in effect, whatever its immediate intention. The writer's real responsibility—to be true to himself—inevitably opposes him to socio-economic arrangements that care nothing for that sort of truth. Stephen Spender has lately restated this argument in "Life and the Poet," another essay hereby commended to blazers of new directions who might be led down the garden path by Mr. Laughlin's notion that to write well *against,* one had best be *for* some specific practical rearrangement of social mechanisms (Mr. L. seems to pine, in particular, for a gospel of Social Credit). It is enough that the artist be proudly and determinedly himself. Of the four writers praised by the editor as satirists, only Paul Goodman seems to act on this principle. His intrepidity always commands attention, even when its expression is preposterous; and now he is working his way to a personal use of myth that is valid because unintimidated by precedent. His prose poem, "Alcestis," subtly weaves into the life-death pattern of the old story a modern dialectic of war and peace, folly and wisdom. The least consciously satirical of the work here presented as such, it is better satire than all the rest.

It is in drama, though, that the 1942 directions seem to lead farthest. "Louis Second," in a verse playlet as intense as it is brief, evokes the potent ghost of Roman decadence to symbolize certain fissures of moral consciousness. His fifth-century bishop, Apollinaris, muttering "Never kill" as he strangles a whorish pagan woman, reminds me of the tormented protagonist of O'Flaherty's "The Puritan," whose spiritual crisis has a like result. The treatment here is not altogether sure-handed, but it has the fiercely burning quality essential for such themes. An equally adult approach to moral problems, coupled with a verve of technical experiment, characterizes Dr. Williams's play, "Many Loves," modestly subtitled "Trial Horse No. 1." I hope Williams's fertile imagination foals many more. "No. 1" concerns three one-act plays presenting different kinds of love, written by a young playwright whose intellectual and moral conflicts with an older man are the central theme of the work. Its action is a rehearsal of the three plays, which, as it goes on, vitally affects the two men and the woman they both love. This play-within-play device is of course "new" only in the sense that it is seldom tried; but Williams does really new fascinating things with it. The verse of the core-play—like Eliot's in "The Family Reunion," not blank verse Brooklynized, *à la* Anderson—is both flexible poetically and rooted in current speech. The prose dialogue of the three one-acters is vivid and flowing, like that of Williams's naturalistic novels. The play might or might not "take" as theater—I think it would—but it would certainly be a joy to the ear. Experimental theaters that still experiment, please note.

In straight fiction, as distinguished from satirical "fable," Mr. Laughlin presents parts of Alvin Levin's first large-scale book, "Love Is Like Park Avenue." This has many of the virtues and few of the vices of that mordant big-city literature in which our novelists specialize. For one thing, it doesn't try to be a Novel. There is no laborious "plot," no "sentimental education" of the dumb kid around the corner: Levin works entirely within the convention of Dos Passos's "camera eye," presenting a series of individuals and incidents that add up to a portrait of mass-man, species *Newyorkensis.* There are weak spots, especially when the bitterness becomes apparently personal and a little shrill, as in the snapshots of Young Intellectuals. But, on the whole, the selections have penetration, swiftness, and solidity that mark them well off from most slice-of-life writing.

Apart from Jouve and Kafka, the rest of the poetry and fiction reveals very little talent. The pieces from Richard Eberhart's "Poem in Construction" are labored, and seldom flash with the profoundly simple perceptiveness of his shorter poems. A story by John Nerber shows that the Kafka influence can lead to bad imitations of Poe: a remarkable phenomenon, since—to judge from some of their acts of worship—numbers of Kafkans have not read Poe. The chief thrill is provided by Marcia Nardi, a discovery of Dr. Williams's, who stands out so far from her surroundings that those who arrive weary and mindsore at page 415 will be strongly tempted to overrate her. As commentator on the modern scene, observer of streets and asylums and prostitutes' prisons, she has not much to offer; but in the intimate recording of situations of the heart, she is indeed—as Williams says—"much better than some of the best-known professional poets about us." There are two poems here—"When Women Talk," and "That point—believe me heart"—which belong to the real literary experiences, those which recur involuntarily to the mind, having become part of the equipment with which it meets the occasions of living. It is writing like this that makes "New Directions" an important event, even when nearly half the book is "satire" or junk by any other name.

FRANK JONES

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IN BRIEF

CONRAD AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES. Souvenirs by J. H. Retinger. Illustrated by Feliks Topolski. Roy Publishers. $2.50.

Both the author and the illustrator of this charming book are Poles settled in England, as Conrad was. Mr. Retinger is also an old friend of Conrad's and a member of literary circles in Paris as well as London. He has produced a piece of belles-lettres of a sort more common in France—and Ireland—than in England. It is a real contribution to the understanding of Conrad as a man and writer.

THIS IS CONGRESS. By Roland Young. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

It is to Mr. Young's credit that he has removed the thorny problem of the relationship between President and Congress from the level of contemporary politics without in the least reducing it to an exercise in abstract theory. His aim is to strengthen parliamentary government, he believes that the weaknesses of the present system may be viewed with tolerance but not with complacency, and he is convinced that improvements can be made without recourse to Constitutional amendment. Briefly, the thesis is that Congress, which grew up like Topsy, needs more centralized direction. Mr. Young offers four general suggestions for improving "the position of Congress as a thinking agency and as an agency which supervises the operation of the bureaucracy." First, and most important, he would replace the present inchoate system of committees with an arrangement of not more than ten parallel committees in each house. Second, these would be presided over by chairmen selected by party caucus instead of by seniority as at present, and the twenty chairman would comprise a Legislative Cabinet which would have authority over the committees and would be responsible for determining legislative policy. By this streamlining process Congress would be given a direction and a capacity for concerted action that would contrast strongly with the present fantastic overlapping of jurisdictions and irresponsible mushrooming of policies. The third proposal calls for better communications between the Administration and Congress, in part through an arrangement permitting Administration members to address Congress and submit themselves to questioning from the floor. The fourth would establish an improved budget procedure. It may be hoped that Mr. Young's book has a wide circulation on Capitol Hill, because only Congress, convinced of its weaknesses, can find the way to a healthier role in the life of the nation. Mr. Young might well serve as a guide.

LORD OF ALASKA. BARANOV AND THE RUSSIAN ADVENTURE. By Hector Chevigny. The Viking Press. $3.

Everybody knows that we acquired Alaska from Russia, but the fascinating story of the Russian settlement will be fresh to almost everybody. Readable and fully documented, this book comes at a time when Alaska's potentialities are just beginning to be realized by the general public.

MEXICAN OIL. By Harlow S. Person. Harper and Brothers. $1.50.

In this brief volume the Mexican oil controversy is viewed as a clash between the humanitarian, semi-socialistic strains in Mexican culture and the harsh, materialistic elements in our Anglo-Saxon culture. In an effort to help the average American to understand Mexico's reasons for seizing the oil wells, the author traces the Mexican concept of property rights in the country's diverse culture, its history, and its law. A very careful analysis is made of the settlement between Mexico and the United States and the agreement as to the amount and terms of indemnification, which leaves the reader convinced that the arrangement was as fair as could possibly have been attained. Despite the book's brevity, the analysis of the controversy is remarkably complete with but one exception. It is unfortunate that the position of the American oil companies is not subject to the same careful historical and interpretative scrutiny that is given to Mexico's policies. This would serve the dual purpose of casting further light on the basic nature of the controversy and of offsetting the suspicion that the companies are not given a fair hearing.

ART

SOUTINE. At the Bignou Gallery, 32 East Fifty-seventh Street, until April 10.

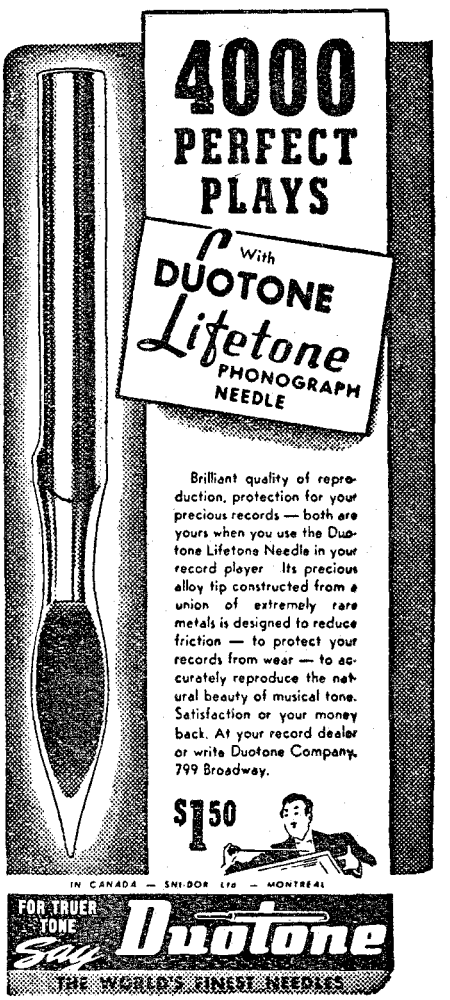
Soutine paints in a rich indigestible style. To enjoy it one must have a strong stomach and a more than superficial acquaintance with his work. One might begin with a vivid picture of a little girl in blue called "The Abandoned Child" and work up to "The Chicken," "The Beef," and "Reclining Figures," before attempting the landscapes. This tortured sinister countryside is not a world one wishes to enter lightly; perhaps the easiest way to do so is to start with number 7, "The Winding Road."

MONDRIAN. At the Valentine Gallery, 55 East Fifty-seventh Street, until April 10.

Mondrian after Soutine is as restful as a nice clean white hospital after the turmoil of the battlefield. In spite of its name, even "Broadway Boogie-Woogie" only vibrates gently around a given line like a neon light in pastel colors. The other pictures vary little from Mondrian's usual style of carefully intersecting black lines on a white background with occasional red or blue squares like the maps for a projected subway. Of the five, numbers 11 and 111 are the most interesting.

HERBERT BAYER. At the Willard Gallery, 32 East Fifty-seventh Street, until April 6.

Bright, neat pictures by one of the Bauhaus boys, who is best known, particular-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ly in this country, for his work as a designer of displays and advertising. It is bound to be said that this talent, of which he possesses so much, has influenced his more serious work. Number 3, "Experience in Atmosphere," and more particularly number 7, "Two Worlds," barely escape this accusation. Nevertheless, these are very pleasant, gay pictures, charming in design and color.

VERTES. At the Gallery of Modern Art. 18 East Fifty-seventh Street, until April 17.

This is disappointing even to an admirer of Mr. Vertès's drawings for the fashion papers. JEAN CONNOLLY

RECORDS

COLUMBIA'S March list offers the powerful orchestral introduction to the Dungeon Scene of Beethoven's "Fidelio" and Florestan's recitative and aria "Gott! welch' Dunkel hier," recorded by Leinsdorf with an unidentified orchestra and René Maison (71410-D, $1.05). The orchestral part loses force through the lack of precision in execution and contour—for example, the lack of distinctness in the powerful turns in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth measures; and Maison's voice is one that I have always found unpleasant to listen to. The sound of the orchestra is reproduced with extraordinary distinctness and spaciousness; but Maison's singing is reproduced with terrific reverberation. The Brunswick-Polydor record of a performance by the Berlin State Opera Orchestra and Völker is no longer available; perhaps Victor will issue the H. M. V. record of a performance with Roswänge.

Schumann's Quintet for piano and strings is performed by Serkin and the Busch Quartet (Set 533, $4.73). The work is Schumann's most engaging piece of chamber music; it requires Serkin to do what he does best, which is ensemble playing with Busch; his playing is warm, sensitive, rich-sounding; and it is well integrated with the playing of the quartet, which is the opposite of warm and rich-sounding. The recorded sound of the performance is clear and spacious, but not as agreeable to the ear as it might be; and the first side of my copy wavers badly in pitch. The older Victor set offers superior reproduction of an equally well integrated performance by Sanromá and the finer-sounding Primrose Quartet.

Paul Robeson tells us that he sings the songs in the album "Songs of Free Men" (Set 534, $3.68)—"From Border to Border" and "Oh, How Proud Our Quiet Don" from Dzerzhinsky's opera "Quiet Flows the Don," Donayevsky's "Native Land," the Red Army's "Song of the Plains," the Spanish Loyalists' "Four Insurgent Generals," the German concentration camp song "Die Moorsoldaten," "The Purest Kind of a Guy" from Blitzstein's "No For an Answer," and Earl Robinson's and Alfred Hayes's "Joe Hill"—because "they issue from the present common struggle for a decent world, a struggle in which the artist must also play his part." The struggle is one in which I too am emotionally involved; the songs, nevertheless, leave me unmoved. Mr. Robeson sings them well.

A month after Victor's release of the recording of Sibelius's Seventh Symphony made by Golschmann and the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra, Columbia issues a performance of the work recorded by Beecham with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Set 524, $3.68). Considered by itself it is an effective performance; but Beecham's faster pace for the opening section makes this section less grandly impressive than it is in Golschmann's version. As reproduced by the records the sound of the Beecham performance is voluminous but dull, hazy, smudged, without the brilliance, the richness, the clarity of the recorded sound of the Golschmann performance; and the second side of my copy wavers very badly in pitch.

As it happens, having decided to feature each month a "record classic" selected from its catalogue, Columbia has begun this month with the set of Schubert's Symphony No. 5 that Beecham made in England with the London Philharmonic (Set 366, $4.78). The symphony is only the best of Schubert's early and inconsequential copies of the works of his great predecessors; but it is superbly performed; and the recorded sound of the performance has the richness and brilliance, the transparency of texture, the sharpness of definition that are lacking in the sound of the Sibelius Seventh.

A newspaperman had occasion to remark to me recently: "Because publishers were so damned anxious for the public to buy everything they published, they brought pressure against a reviewer who wrote that a book was bad. As a result we have book columnists and reviewers for whom everything published has merit—and to whom nobody pays any attention." I mention his remark because it applies to record-reviewing. With few exceptions record-company executives dislike the reviewer who creates in his readers the confidence that will cause them to buy what he tells them is good—who creates this confidence by telling them also when he thinks something is bad. They dislike him because they want to sell everything they produce, and regard the review as only an additional kind of publicity material for that purpose—a kind for which the payment is the sample records that are sent to the reviewer gratis; and, as they have been quoted to me, "why should we give expensive records to someone who knocks them?" The reviewer they like is the one who can hear only good in the records, or who cannot believe evil even when he hears it—who, if Columbia's recording of Sibelius's First is so bad that he must say "the orchestra does not come through as richly as the Philadelphia" does in the Victor recording, hastens to add "that may be because of an inferior recording [i. e., copy] that reached us"—and who certainly would have no influence on my buying if I had to depend on someone's judgment. And what with the reviewers who have good ears but poor machines, the ones with good machines but no ears, the ones with no ears and bad machines, the ones with a desire to have the records and a willingness to be agreeable for them—most reviews are the kind that record-company executives like.

It doesn't make things any easier for the man who must report that a recording is technically defective, to have reviewers for important publications pronounce it technically excellent. Not only that, but since records are released only when approved by the artist, the reviewer is in the uncomfortable position of finding fault with recording that has been passed by Stokowski, by Serkin, by Bruno Walter, by the Budapest Quartet. But now Beecham has publicly repudiated the defective recordings of his performances of Sibelius's Seventh and other works with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony; and the report of his suit to prevent their sale was published only a day before one New York reviewer pronounced the recording of the Sibelius Seventh "well made technically" and another found it "good, although not quite so expansively resonant as Victor's." And so you can understand why I have had candles burning before a picture of Beecham ever since. B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Americans in England

[*We print here portions of a letter recently received from England.*]

We are full of Americans. You go to little country places and there they are. London overflows with them. I cannot think what they must be feeling about this country during war time! Our towns are neglected; our great buildings are either wrecked or squalid for lack of being kept up. We have no light; we have no paper. But the worst of all is that we can do so little for them. We try sometimes to entertain them a little because it must be horrid being so far away from the things they really care for, but it simply can't be done to any great extent because of the food question. Many of them do not understand why people won't sell them things in the shops—for the simple reason that they either haven't got them or that they have to divide them between a number of customers. I do feel so sorry that Americans should find us like this and afraid that they will think we are always so.

It is quite clear that there is an immense difference between this country and yours in war time, and it seems impossible to make this known. You see, even the bombing has been cleared up and tidied up, and no one who hasn't been through it has any idea of what it was. We have a little raid now and again, as the other day when the Germans killed all those little children, but it is nothing compared with what happened before, and so even that doesn't seem quite enough to account for the dreariness to which we have grown accustomed, but which must be horrid for a newcomer. I want to tell every American that things aren't always like this and that we aren't really mean and inhospitable.

One more thing too distresses me a little. So many Americans tell us that they have come to fight for *us* and when they are isolationists, as many are, they don't really want to come. I think enough can't be said about the fighting *not* being for us, that it would be very wrong if it *were* for us; that Americans didn't come in until the war was on their own doorstep and that if they share with us now in the West, we also shall (do) share with them in the East. An army in another country is full of difficulties, only I don't want Americans to feel as we felt in the last war that the French, having welcomed us, later resented almost everything we did, a resentment which to some extent was returned with such stories as that the French charged for a drink of water? I wonder when this chaos will cease.

Of course we still hang on the wireless waiting for news which will indicate that the end, even if distant, is in sight. If we could go a little more quickly, perhaps Hitler wouldn't always have the chance of keeping ahead with more bullying of the continent of Europe. We *are* getting quicker of course, but such awful things are happening in Europe that every five minutes count. Two Jewish friends of mine committed suicide in Berlin a short time ago because they were afraid of becoming a burden to their son. I get Red Cross letters from Paris from people who are barely existing.

Here there is a lot of movement about the future. People are ahead of the government in many ways, though it is true that the government has plenty to do with the main thing—which is to get the war finished. We were rather worried the other day about our Old Man when he had pneumonia. He is the very symbol of our resistance, and we can never forget that he enabled us to hold out when we had nobody in the war but ourselves. But there are people moving all over the country on the subject of a better world. Reconstruction meetings take place in small groups everywhere. Planning a new country is very much to the fore, and there are numerous exhibitions traveling around the country to do something about it. M. H.

London, February 28

A Good Idea

Dear Sirs: There is in America today a well-founded opinion that the present war is being fought to preserve the Four Freedoms for the common people of the world. Vice-President Henry Wallace has spoken feelingly and effectively about the Century of the Common Man. The spirit of human brotherhood seems to emanate from the White House. At times the glow almost reaches Capitol Hill.

Meanwhile across the street in the venerable mid-Victorian precincts of the State Department tory appeasement still reigns. At Mr. Hull's council table the ghosts of Chamberlain and Darlan vie for place with the butcher Franco and Otto of Hapsburg.

Would it not be proper to suggest that the President some fine day take Mr. Wallace over and introduce him to Mr. Hull. I think it would be nice if they could get to know each other.

SAMUEL BRISTOL

Whittier, Cal., March 17

A Farmer Speaks

Dear Sirs: I became acquainted with James Patton, who wrote the two articles for you on Why Food Is Scarce, shortly after he came out of college. I have been for years a Farmers' Union member. He became our part-time secretary as we were so poor. I saw at the time he was a very bright boy. His father was a coal miner, and Jim was brought up in a labor atmosphere. The first time I met him he came to my farm. It was in the fall and I was getting ready to plant fall wheat. Being very busy, I said to him if you want to talk and visit with me you will have to walk around after me, which he did.

That fall he put in considerable time going around and talking to farmers. As he was labor-inclined in his talk, he told me afterward he got his foot in it several times, as so many farmers think labor is on the other side of the fence. When the real situation is thought through, the farmer is very little more than a laborer himself. But some farmers, though their farms are mortgaged, think themselves capitalists. Jim Patton knows what he is talking about. I took those two articles to the oil station for people to read.

In *The Nation* of January 30 there was a paragraph saying that farmers have enough machinery. As far as I can see and hear, that is not correct. Farm machinery these last few years has been made too light, does not stand up. I bought a Deering Combine in 1918. It is running yet. It cut 330 acres last year and will cut quite a few more crops providing I can get the repairs. It was made of good material and heavy enough. It has the same motor on it. Large farmers as a rule have enough machinery, but the smaller farmers are short. The farm sales in Missouri, Kan-

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sas, Nebraska, and the eastern part of Colorado show this. I consider this has been deliberately planned so as to throw these small farmers into the labor class for the larger farmers to hire.

The food situation is just as serious as Jim says it is. The common man is getting his eyes opened. Our best boys have been taken. I have 1,400 acres of land, most of it farm land, some of it good corn land. In 1942 I raised 7,100 bushels of corn. The cost to gather it was very high as mechanical crop pickers are not a success out here and most of the shucking is done by hand. The home front is a hard place to fight.

I have watched the State Department for, I think, five years, and our boys die for nothing. E. L. RAMSEY

Haxtun, Col., March 21

When the Soldiers Return

Dear Sirs: I happen to be in touch with a group of soldiers in process of organization that is interested in seeing to it that after the war returning soldiers will not be used by the powers of darkness, as was the case following the other war in considerable measure. There should be coordination, and I would be glad to know about similar groups and movements. Already the forces of reaction are active, and no time is to be lost.

JOHN C. GRANBERY,
Editor the *Emancipator*

San Antonio, Tex., March 15

A Few Facts and Figures

Dear Sirs: In the speech of Captain Rickenbacker delivered to the state legislature in the Assembly chamber in Albany on February 22, 1943, the following sentence struck me: "And those five million aliens who have failed to accept the responsibilities of citizenship of this nation, but who came here to enjoy its fruits and privileges, apply tomorrow for your first papers and the responsibilities that go with them—if not, go back where you come from."

Needless to say, the majority of aliens agree with the appeal of Captain Rickenbacker, although they have already accepted responsibilities in serving in the United States army, as workers in war plants, as blood donors, and as volunteers in many civil-defense activities. Therefore it is necessary to analyze the figure of five million aliens who, according to Captain Rickenbacker, "enjoy fruits and privileges" without accepting all responsibilities. The report of the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization of February 1, 1943, now submitted to Congress, shows that on December 31, 1942, 4,280,056 registered aliens were living in the United States. It might be of interest that in 1941 and 1942, 547,658 aliens became citizens.

Seventy per cent of the total of registered aliens came to the United States before 1924, and 900,000 among these came prior to 1906. According to the report cited, 700,000 aliens were found to be illiterate; the percentage of illiteracy rises among those of both sexes forty-five years of age and older. These 700,000 may have their first papers, as do most of the aliens, but they can't acquire citizenship.

In the decade of 1931 to 1940 alone 1,369,479 aliens filed their first papers and 442,919 filed in 1941 and 1942. Owing to the long-drawn-out procedure for issuing second papers, we have to figure that those aliens who filed first papers during the years 1936 to 1942 are still counted as aliens, although they have accepted the responsibilities to which Captain Rickenbacker refers. Many of them are serving in the army, but the greater part of them are still "aliens."

No, there are no such five million aliens; there are, according to the official figures:

Registered aliens on December 31, 1942		4,280,056
Minus illiterate aliens	700,000	
Minus aliens who filed first papers, 1936-42	1,280,132	
Visitors unable to file first papers (estimated)	50,000	
		2,030,132
Total		2,249,924

We could deduct, moreover, those aliens who were rejected for citizenship because they didn't pass the intelligence test, those who were unable to produce certain papers, etc.

We must bear in mind the fact that cases of aliens who filed their first papers in 1935 may be still pending. As can be proved by official statistics, more than 70 per cent of the aliens who have not, unfortunately, acquired American citizenship arrived in this country before 1924. Since we know that from 1936 to 1942, 1,280,132 aliens filed their first papers—that is, 30 per cent of the total—we have the interesting fact that all newcomers of the last seven years declared their intention to become United States citizens. These newcomers are very well aware of the big issues at stake. The struggle began for them just ten years ago. Captain Rickenbacker shouldn't overlook these facts.

KURT R. GROSSMAN

New York, March 15

Hot Jazz Wanted

Dear Sirs: A group of soldiers here have formed the Aloe Field Hot Jazz Club to provide relaxation and enjoyment during our free hours. It is still in its embryonic stage, and further development depends on cooperation from civilians on the outside—that is, on records which they may be able to contribute in addition to those which have been contributed by club members.

Records are necessary because hot jazz is seldom played on the radio—why the radio stations overlook this genuine native American art is hard to understand. By hot jazz we mean, of course, the honest expression of emotions through improvisations by small bands—not "swing," which is a dull, repetitious, prescribed, uninspired type of music that omits the essential characteristic of improvisation, or artistic expression.

The records we want are those of the orchestras of Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong, Count Basie, Earl Hines, Jimmy Lunceford, Sidney Bechet, Eddie Condon, Bud Freeman, Muggsy Spanier, and of the Benny Goodman Trio and Quartet. We don't want records of the dance music of big orchestras like Tommy Dorsey's, Guy Lombardo's, Harry James's, Glenn Miller's, and the like.

If hot-jazz devotees among your readers have duplicate or worn records perhaps they will be willing to pass them on to us, who will receive them with gratitude.

One important thing our club will do is provide the Negro troops with a type of music which itself knows no racial barriers. SERGEANT CY SHAIN,

President, Aloe Field Hot Jazz Club

Victoria, Tex., March 25

Is It an Error?

Dear Sirs: May I draw to your attention an error in grammar in a review by Frank Jones in your issue of February 20?

He says, "Liben feels badly . . ." Verbs of the sense of look, sound, smell, taste, and feel, and copulatives such as be, appear, and see, take an adjective to denote the quality of the subject, as "Myrtle looks pretty in her new hat"; "John feels bad today."

One does not say, "I feel so happily, coldly, gladly, etc." One should say, "I feel so happy, cold, and glad."

JOHN W. FOLLETTE

New Paltz, N. Y., March 15

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Russia After the War

Dear Sirs: May I "have words with" Mr. Charles W. Sherman regarding his letter in your issue of February 27? Mr. Stalin has hardly nurtured unity among the United Nations by making clear on more than one occasion his sentiments regarding the war effort of his capitalistic allies, their spirit as contrasted to their action; and his attitude toward a second front is too well known for comment. Also, has Russia's recent rejection of Poland's boundary claims, for restoration to the pre-war limensions, anything in common with Mr. Stalin's acceptance of "the Allies proposition to allow all people to select their own form of government"?

With reference to the assertion that in post-war Russia, internal rehabilitation will frustrate any designs on foreign or neighboring countries, this point is open at least to discussion, if not to doubt. A socialistic economy is operated for the benefit of the state and only secondarily for the good of the individual; so that when the state decides that one commodity, or one species of commodity, is to be produced at the sacrifice of others, such is the actual case. A socialistic economy also, being more flexible, can produce both sufficient consumers' goods to allow a reasonably high standard of living and, by eliminating the luxuries and frills of the capitalistic economy, can also produce, say armaments, on a scale which is impossible in a free-enterprise industrial set-up. Which means that post-war Russia, in spite of its devastated areas, will be able to shift to a peace-time economy and rebuild its internal economy, while at the same time reorganizing and reequipping its military machine with a celerity and efficiency wholly alien to the capitalistic economy of the democracies. This is not to say that such is probable, only that it is extremely possible and should be kept vitally in mind by our diplomats and statesmen.

Russia's vast resources, her near-miraculous speed in developing these resources due to her sincere emphasis on and almost worshipful faith in science, put her far ahead of post-war China; and, united with the authoritarian, bureaucratic leadership and state-controlled economy, far ahead of the more democratic countries in possible influence and power. Post-war Russia will be a stupendous potential of either world trade, international security, and universal good-will or fear and distrust by the other leading world-powers, let alone the small neighboring states. And the decision as to which she will be does not rest entirely with Russia.

Finally, there is very little tangible evidence that the "Communist International" is dead, and more to the effect that it has just been put to sleep "for the duration."

HAROLD C. FRANCIS

London, Ontario, March 7

The Evian Farce

Dear Sirs: May I express to you my sincere gratitude and admiration for Miss Kirchwey's excellent article in *The Nation* of March 13, While the Jews Die. It is honest, courageous, and moving. I am particularly grateful to her for having exposed the farce of the Evian conference and the tragic mockery and insincerity surrounding the whole affair. Thirty-eight nations were represented at Evian, and the net result was the admission of a few hundred refugees to Santa Domingo, at an exorbitant cost of millions of dollars to American Jews.

The world has become so accustomed to persecution of the Jewish race for almost 2,000 years that it accepts it with silence and now and then with an expression of meaningless and insincere sympathy. There is, however, a difference, a difference that affects not only the Jews but the future of all humanity. What is happening now to the Jews of Europe—the openly conducted mass murder on a scientific scale of millions of human beings—without shaking the soul and the conscience of humanity to its very foundations, spells the doom not only of the Jews but also of the whole human race.

Who can take the proclamations and protestations that we are fighting to save democracy and for the establishment of the Four Freedoms as embodied in the so-called Atlantic Charter seriously? Who can believe in it in the face of cynical statements that our country together with Great Britain will undertake "preliminary explorations" on the subject?

Even before the Ottawa conference convenes, there may not be a single Jew left alive in Hitler-occupied Europe. How can one expect people who make themselves accessories to the greatest crime in history to build a new world and carry out their high-sounding and lofty proclamations? It leaves millions of thinking men and women the world over with a sense of bitter frustration and hopelessness.

Please do not be disturbed by my pessimistic note. *The Nation* has always been a beacon light in the wilderness of human greed, selfishness, and lust for power commonly known as "politics." I am happy to see that you are not only carrying on the old tradition of your magnificent publication but that you have considerably extended and improved it. ARTHUR MEYEROWITZ

New York, March 19

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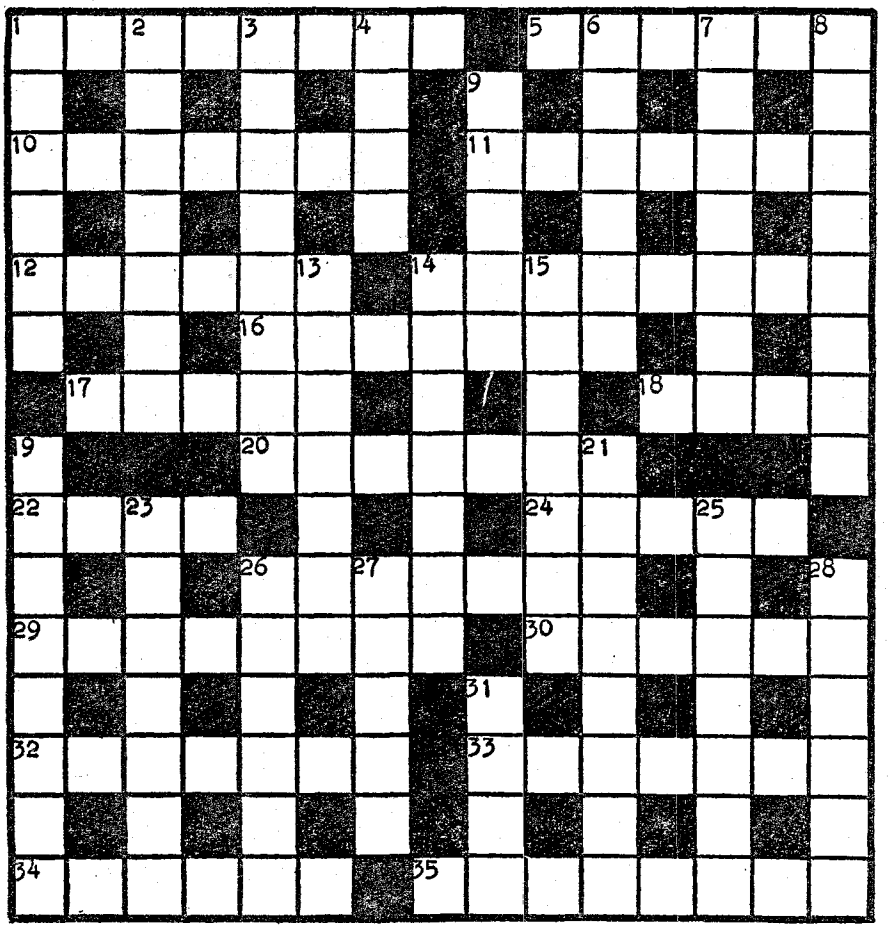
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 7

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Is the German press chief's food highly seasoned?
5 Found in iron age records
10 Women war workers use them, but they are almost unnecessary
11 Refers to brief advertisements, apparently.
12 A change of stance shows what Congress does in regard to legislation
14 Ancient engines of war that should be highly popular with people living in glass houses
16 Anger with sweet savor
17 Narrow escape at the barber's
18 The WPA found work for these hands: the devil still does
20 It brings pain to a head
22 What to expect after a bull rush
24 He can't see much farther than the end of his nose
26 What the Government is most interested in collecting
29 Was in the chair, though not necessarily the presidential one
30 These foreign drinking-vessels come in sets
32 Advice at target practice serving no useful purpose
33 Scene of operas, and operations
34 Emphasis
35 A listening device Canute would have found useful (two words, 4 and 4)

DOWN

1 Political emblem which stood Sancho Panza in good stead
2 Humbug with two trees at the end of it
3 Nepotism may prove a boon to him
4 May be made to suit a suit
6 A beginner with a spotless character?
7 Thus mutilated, no wonder the fish shed gore!
8 Put up a fight
9 This dog is made to show where bones are buried
13 Came by wrongfully, or went by furtively
14 Late in bed—and the result!
15 This sum is of geographical significance
19 Not the sort of measures that should be used in the present emergency (hyphen, 4 and 4)
21 When Republicans and Democrats see this they will be in perfect agreement (3 words, 3, 2 and 3)
23 Provides a sea term, very naturally
25 Dog which might be useful in a class room
26 Our law-maker's afterthoughts
27 Is the free variety most popular in Scotland?
28 A snake without shelter in a state of unconsciousness
31 A neat arrangement

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 6

ACROSS:—1 BAD EGG; 4 ILLINOIS; 10 REMORSE; 11 VILLAIN; 12 ADAGE; 13 ILL; 14 TRIER; 15 NOSES; 17 ARMENIAN; 21 HARRISON; 23 BLEAT; 26 NACRE; 28 OAF; 29 VERSA; 30 GRIMACE; 31 SEGMENT; 32 RENDERED; 33 GENTLY.

DOWN:—1 BARGAINS; 2 DEMEANS; 3 GORGE; 5 LEVEL; 6 ISLET; 7 OCARINA; 8 SENTRY; 9 PELICANS; 16 SIR; 18 MANIFEST; 19 NIB; 20 STEALTHY; 22 AUCTION; 24 EARNEST; 25 ONAGER; 27 ELATE; 28 OBESE; 29 VAGUE.

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